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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

THE WORKS OF

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WITH TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY

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VOL. IV.

THE JEWISH WAR BOOKS I—IV

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THE JEWISH WAR,

OR, THE

HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

PREFACE.

§ 1.

SINCE[1] the war between the Jews and the Romans was the greatest of all those not only in our times, but almost all that were ever heard of, either of those wherein cities have fought against cities or nations against nations, and as some men who were not concerned in the affairs themselves, have collected together vain and contradictory stories from hearsay, and have recorded them in a sophistical manner, while those that were present have given false accounts of things, either in flattery to the Romans or from hatred to the Jews, and as their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes encomium, but no where the accurate truth, I have proposed to myself, for the sake

[1] I have already observed more than once, that this history of the Jewish War was Josephus's first book, and published about A.D. 75, when he was but 38 years of age; and that, when he wrote it, he was not thoroughly acquainted with several circumstances of history from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, with which it begins, till near his own times, contained in the first and former part of the second book, and so committed many involuntary errors therein. He published his Antiquities eighteen years afterwards, in the 13th year of Domitian, A.D. 93, when he was much more completely acquainted with those ancient times. Accordingly he then reviewed those parts of this work, and gave the public a more faithful, complete, and accurate account of the facts therein related; and honestly corrected the errors he had before run into.—W.

of such as live under the empire of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I, Josephus, the son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew, a priest also, and one who at first fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterwards, formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians.[1]

§ 2. Now at the time when this most important event happened, the affairs of the Romans themselves were in a bad situation, for the Jews who were for innovation, who were in a flourishing condition both as regarded strength and riches, rose up in insurrection just when the times were disturbed, insomuch that affairs in the East were then in exceeding confusion, as some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss, and the Jews hoped that all of their nation who were beyond the Euphrates would have risen up in insurrection with them. The Gauls also in the neighbourhood of the Romans were in commotion, and the Celts were not quiet, but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at royal power, and the soldiers were enamoured of change from the hope of gain. I thought it therefore monstrous to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to suffer those Greeks and Romans that took no part in the war to be ignorant of these things, and to read either flatteries or fictions, while the Parthians, and Babylonians, and remotest Arabians, and those of our own nation beyond the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, knew accurately by my labours why the war begun, and what miseries it brought upon us, and how it ended.

§ 3. And yet these writers have the confidence to call their accounts histories, though they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, in addition to their relating nothing that is sound. For they wish to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews; but I do not see how they can appear to be great who have only conquered those that were little.

[1] Who those Upper Barbarians, remote from the sea, were, Josephus himself informs us, § 2, viz., the Parthians and Babylonians, and remotest Arabians, besides the Jews beyond the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, or Assyrians.—W.

Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the numbers of the Roman forces who so greatly suffered in it, and the greatness of the commanders, whose many struggles to take Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

§ 4. However, I have determined not to go to the other extreme, in opposition to those men who extol the Romans, and to raise the actions of my countrymen too high, but I shall relate the actions of both parties with accuracy, only I shall suit my language to my feelings as to the affairs I describe, and shall indulge some lamentations upon the miseries of my country. For that our own factions destroyed it, and that it was the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman forces upon us against their will, and occasioned the burning of our holy temple, Titus Cæsar, who destroyed it, is himself a witness, who, during the entire war, pitied the people who were kept under by the factious, and often voluntarily delayed the taking of the city, and protracted the siege, in order to give the authors of the war time for repentance. And if any one blames me for my accusing the tyrants or robbers, or for bewailing the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my sorrow in this, though it be contrary to the rules of writing history; for our city Jerusalem, which had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Romans, at last fell into the sorest of calamities. At any rate it appears to me that the misfortunes of all men from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews, are not so considerable, and as the authors of them were not foreigners, it makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if any one be a judge too hard for pity, let him assign the facts to history, and the lamentations to the writer himself only.

§ 5. However, I might justly censure the learned men among the Greeks, who, when such great actions have been done in their own times, which by comparison quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs, and severely criticize the best writers of antiquity, for though they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are they inferior to them in the execution of what they

intend to do: for they write themselves about the Assyrians and Medes, as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs well enough, although they are as far inferior to them in abilities, as they are different in their notions from them. For of old every one was anxious to write what happened in his own time, where their presence at the actions made their narration of value, and where to write lies for those who knew the facts would turn to their disgrace. But to preserve to memory what has been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterwards, is really worthy of praise and commendation; and he is not industrious who only alters the arrangement and order of other men's works, but he who relates what is new and composes an entire body of history of his own. And I have been at great expense and have taken very great pains, though I am a foreigner, and dedicate this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks and Romans. But for some of our own men, their mouths are wide open, and their tongues loosed, at once for gain and lawsuits, but are quite muzzled up when they are to write history, where they must speak truth and gather facts together with a great deal of pains; and so they leave the writing such histories to inferior people, and to such as are not acquainted with the actions of princes. But let the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us, since it is neglected among the Greeks.

§ 6. To write the Antiquities of the Jews, as who they were, and how they left the Egyptians, and what region they travelled over, and what countries they occupied afterwards, and how they were removed out of them, I think to be now unseasonable and also superfluous, since many Jews before me have written the history of our ancestors accurately, as some of the Greeks have done also, having translated them into their own tongue, and have not much wandered from the truth. But I shall begin my history where the writers of these affairs and our prophets leave off. Now as to what concerns the war which happened in my own time, I shall narrate all that with much detail, and with all the diligence I am able, but shall briefly run over what preceded mine own age.

§ 7. I shall relate then how Antiochus, who was named

Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by storm, and held it three years and three months, and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Asamonæus; and next how their posterity quarrelled about the kingdom, and dragged into their affairs the Romans and Pompey; and how Herod, the son of Antipater, put an end to their rule, bringing in Sossius upon them; and also how our people rose in insurrection upon Herod's death, when Augustus was the Roman emperor, and Quintilius Varus was in our country; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of Nero, as also what happened under Cestius; and what places the Jews assaulted in a hostile manner in the first movements of the war.

§ 8. I shall also relate how they built walls about the neighbouring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius' defeat, was in fear about the issue of the war, and so made Vespasian general in it, and how this Vespasian, with the elder of his sons,[1] made an expedition into the country of Judæa, and what Roman force he took with him, and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off throughout all Galilee; and how he took some of its cities by storm, and how others surrendered. I shall then describe the good order of the Romans in war, and the discipline of their legions, and the size of both the Galilees, and their nature, and the limits of Judæa, and the peculiarities of the district, and the lakes and fountains that are in it, and what miseries happened to each city as it was taken, and all this I shall describe with accuracy as I saw or suffered. For I shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the facts.

§ 9. After this I shall relate how Nero died, when the fortunes of the Jews were become very bad, and how Vespasian, as he was hastening to Jerusalem, was called off to become emperor, and what omens happened to him in relation to that, and how he reached Rome, and how he was made emperor by the soldiers against his will, and how, upon his return to Egypt, to take the chief command, the Jews became very riotous; as also how the tyrants rose up against them, and their own mutual dissensions.

§ 10. I shall also relate how Titus marched from Egypt

[1] Titus.—W.

into Judæa the second time; as also how and where he concentrated his forces, and how many they were, and what state the city was in in respect to faction at his coming; and what attacks he made, and how many earthworks he threw up: also of the three walls that invested the city, and of their measures; also of the strength of the city. I shall also relate accurately the structure of the temple and sanctuary, as also the measures of those edifices, and of the altar, and some of their habits at festivals, and their seven purifications, and the sacred ministrations of the priests, as also the vestments of the priests and of the high priest; and of the nature of the holy place of the temple, without concealing anything, or adding anything to what is generally known.

§ 11. I shall next relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards their fellow-countrymen, as also the clemency of the Romans to foreigners; and how often Titus, in his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited the rebels to come to terms of accommodation. I shall also distinguish the sufferings and calamities of the people, and how far they were afflicted by the war, and how far by the faction, and how far by famine, till at last Jerusalem was taken. Nor shall I omit to mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishments inflicted on the captives: as also how the temple was burnt against the wish of Titus, and how many of the sacred treasures of the temple were rescued out of the fire; and the destruction of the entire city, and the signs and wonders that preceded it; and the taking the tyrants captive, and the multitude of those that were made slaves, and their various fortunes. I shall also relate how the Romans followed up the remains of the war, and how they demolished the strongholds, and how Titus went over the whole country and settled affairs; together with his return to Italy and triumph.

§ 12. I have included all these things in seven books, and have left no occasion for blame or accusation to such as are acquainted with or took part in this war, and I have written it for those who love truth, not for those who read merely for pleasure. And I shall begin my account of these as I stated in my recapitulation.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS, FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

CHAP. I.

How the City of Jerusalem was taken, and the Temple pillaged, by Antiochus Epiphanes. Also concerning the Actions of the Maccabees, Matthias and Judas, and the Death of Judas.

§ 1.

AT the time that Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, contended with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to all Syria, a great strife fell out among the men of power in Judæa, and they had a struggle for power, as each of those that were in authority could not endure to be subject to his equals. And Onias, one of the high priests, got the best of it, and expelled the sons of Tobias from the city. And they fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his guides, and to make an expedition into Judæa. The king complied with them, being disposed thereto beforehand, and set out with a great army, and took Jerusalem by storm, and slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also himself spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering daily sacrifices for three years and six months. But Onias, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the district of Heliopolis,[1] where he built a little city resembling Jerusalem, and a similar temple, concerning which I shall speak more hereafter in its proper place.

§ 2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected capture of the city, or with its pillage, or with the

[1] Probably *Tell el-Yehûdi*. Antiq. xii. 9, § 7; xiii. 3, § 1; xx. 10, § 1. Heliopolis, or On, was to the N.E. of Cairo. See Antiq. ii. 7, § 6; Against Apion, ii. 2.

great slaughter he had made there, but being a slave to his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he tried to compel the Jews to break the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; which they all disobeyed, and the most esteemed among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent by Antiochus as commander of the fortresses with these wicked orders, from his own natural barbarity indulged in excessive lawlessness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened the city every day with open destruction; till at length he provoked the poor sufferers by his excessive outrages to avenge themselves.

§ 3. For Matthias, the son of Asamonæus, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modein,[1] armed himself and his family (he had five sons), and slew Bacchides with daggers; and forthwith, from fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy], fled to the mountains, and so many of the people followed him, that he took courage and came down from the mountains, and gave battle to Antiochus' generals, whom he beat and drove out of Judæa. So he became all powerful by his success, and (because he had expelled the foreigners) became the prince of his own people at their own wish, and when he died, left the government to Judas, his eldest son.

§ 4. Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not remain quiet, gathered together an army of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country, when he made a second expedition into it, inflicting on him a great defeat. And being warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto, and ejected it from the upper part of the city, which was called the Citadel, and drove the soldiers into the lower. He then got the temple in his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned, and built another altar,

[1] *el-Medieh*, about seven miles E. of Lydda, *Ludd*. Antiq. xii. 6, § 1, 4; xii. 11, § 2; xiii. 6, § 5.

and began to offer the daily sacrifices. And when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died, and his son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

§ 5. So he got together fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and eighty elephants, and marched through Judæa into the mountainous parts. He then took Beth-sura,[1] which was a small city, but at a place called Beth-zacharias,[2] where there was a narrow pass, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas' brother Eleazar, seeing the very biggest of the elephants adorned with a large tower and trappings of gold, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the press of the enemies got up to the elephant. But he could not reach him who seemed to be the king because of his high position, but he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory to life. Now he that rode on the elephant was but a private soldier, and even had he proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar would have done nothing more by this bold stroke than show he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of doing a glorious action. Nay, his death proved an omen to his brother how the battle would end. It is true that the Jews contested it bravely for a long time, but the king's forces being superior in numbers, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophnitis.[3] And Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and stayed there but a few days, for he was in want of provisions, and so went away. He left, indeed, a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient, but drew the rest of his army off to winter in Syria.

§ 6. Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for many of his own nation came to him, and he

[1] *Beit Sûr.* Antiq. viii. 10, § 1; xii. 7, § 5; xii. 9, § 5; xiii. 5, § 6.
[2] *Kh. Beit Skâria.* Antiq. xii. 9, § 4.
[3] The district of which Gophna, *Jifna*, was the chief town. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 4; iii. 3, § 3; iv. 9, § 9.

gathered together those that had escaped out of the battle, and again engaged with Antiochus' generals at a village called Adasa,[1] and having greatly distinguished himself in the battle, and slain a great number of the enemy, he was at last himself slain also. And not many days afterwards his brother John had a plot laid against him by those who were of Antiochus' party, and was slain by them.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Successors of Judas, who were Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.

§ 1.

JONATHAN, who was Judas' brother, succeeded him, and behaved himself with great circumspection in all other respects with relation to his own people, and strengthened his authority by his friendship with the Romans, and also made a league with Antiochus' son.[2] Yet was not all this sufficient for his security. For the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus' son, laid a plot against him, and first endeavoured to take off his friends, and captured Jonathan by stratagem, as he was going with a few persons to Ptolemais[3] to Antiochus, and put him in bonds, and then marched against the Jews; but being repulsed by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, he was enraged at his defeat, and put Jonathan to death.

§ 2. Now Simon managed public affairs in a courageous manner, and took Gazara[4] and Joppa[5] and Jamnia,[6] which were cities in the neighbourhood, and also conquered the garrison, and demolished the Citadel at Jerusalem. He afterwards helped Antiochus against Trypho, whom he besieged

[1] *Kh. 'Adaseh.* Antiq. xii. 10, § 5.
[2] I read Ἀντιόχου παῖδα, as three lines lower.
[3] *'Akka, St. Jean d'Acre.*
[4] Gezer, *Tell Jezar.* Antiq. vii. 12, § 2; viii. 6, § 1; xiii. 1, § 3; 9, § 2.
[5] *Jaffa.*
[6] *Yebnah.* Antiq. ix. 10, § 3; xiv. 4, § 4; xvii. 8, § 1; xviii. 2, § 2.

in Dora,[1] before he went on his expedition against the Medes. Yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebæus his general with an army to lay waste Judæa, and to subdue Simon. But though he was now in years, he conducted the war as if he were a young man, and sent his sons with a strong band against Cendebæus, while he took part of the army himself, and attacked him in another quarter. He also laid a great many men in ambush in many places among the mountains, and overcame the enemy in all his attacks upon them. And having been conqueror in so glorious a manner, he was made high priest, and freed the Jews, after a period of a hundred and seventy years, from the dominion of the Macedonians.

§ 3. This Simon had also a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison, and sent some persons to kill the third, John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But as the young man was informed beforehand of their coming, he made haste to get to the city, having very great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of their hatred to the lawlessness of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate, but was quickly repelled by the people, who had just admitted Hyrcanus; so he retired presently to one of the fortresses beyond Jericho, which was called Dagon.[2] Now, when Hyrcanus had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might bring aid to his mother and brothers.

§ 4. So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by his just grief. For as Ptolemy was pressed hard, he brought out Hyrcanus' mother and brothers, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, unless Hyrcanus went away immediately, that

[1] Dor, *Tantûrah*. Antiq. xiii. 7, § 2; 12, § 2; xiv. 4, § 4; 5, § 3; xix. 6, § 3.

[2] Antiq. xiii. 8, § 1.

he would throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus' commiseration and concern were too much for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, either at the stripes she received, or at the death with which she was threatened, but stretched out her hands, and begged her son not to be so moved by the injuries she suffered as to spare the wretch, since it was better for her to die at the hands of Ptolemy than to live for ever, provided he could be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now whenever John considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he was incited to the attack, but whenever he saw her beaten and torn to pieces with stripes, he was unnerved and entirely overcome by grief. And as the siege was protracted in this way, the year of rest came on, for the Jews rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day. In this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from the siege, and slew the brothers of John with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was surnamed Cotylas, who was the tyrant of Philadelphia.[1]

§ 5. And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered at the hands of Simon, that he made an expedition into Judæa, and sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus. But he opened the tomb of David, who was the richest of the kings, and took thence more than three thousand talents in money, and bribed Antiochus by three hundred talents to raise the siege. Hyrcanus was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and so begun to maintain mercenary troops.

§ 6. At another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave him an opportunity of being revenged upon him, Hyrcanus immediately marched upon the cities of Syria, thinking, as proved to be the case, that he would find them empty of fighting men. So he took Medaba[2] and Samæa,[3] with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem[4] and Garizin;[5] and besides these [he subdued] the nation of the Chuthæans, who

[1] *'Ammân.* Antiq. xiii. 8, § 1; xx. 1, § 1.
[2] *Medeba.* Antiq. xiii. 1, § 2; 9, § 1; 15, § 4; xiv. 1, § 4.
[3] Antiq. xiii. 9, § 1, where the name is Samega.
[4] *Nâblus.*
[5] Mount Gerizim, south of *Nâblus.* Antiq. xiii. 9, § 1.

dwelt in the neighbourhood of the temple built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem. He also took many other cities of Idumæa,[1] and Adoreus [2] and Marissa.[3]

§ 7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and invested it on all sides, and set his sons Aristobulus and Antigonus over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that famine so prevailed within the city, that the inhabitants were forced to eat most strange food. So they invited Antiochus, who was surnamed Aspendius, to come to their assistance, and he willingly complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and indeed he was pursued by the brothers as far as Scythopolis[4] in his flight from them. And they returned back to Samaria,[5] and closely blockaded its population again, and when they had taken the city, they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And as they still had great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and overran it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

§ 8. But now these successes of John and his sons made them envied, and occasioned a sedition among their fellow-countrymen, and many mustered together against them, and would not be at rest till they broke out into open war, when they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government in an excellent manner for thirty-three entire years, and then died, leaving five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and had no occasion to complain of fortune in his case. At any rate he alone had three of the most desirable things in the world, the government of his nation, and the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the Deity conversed with him, so that he was not ignorant of any thing

[1] The southern portion of Judæa and the plain of Philistia.
[2] *Dâra.* Antiq. viii. 10, § 1; xiii. 9, § 1; 15, § 4; xiv. 5, § 3.
[3] Mareshah, *Kh. Mer'ash.* Antiq. viii. 10, § 1; 12, § 1; xii. 8, § 6; xiii. 9, § 1; xi[illegible] § 4; 5, § 3; 13, § 9.
[4] Bethshean, *Beisa[illegible]*1, § 22; vi. 14, § 8; xii. 8, § 5; xiv. 4, § 4; 5, § 3.
[5] *Sebustieh.* Antiq. viii. [illegible]; 14, § 1; ix. 4, § 4; xiii. 10, § 2; xiv. 4, § 4; 5, § 3; xv. 7, §§ 3, [illegible] 8, § 5.

that was to happen afterwards, insomuch that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue at the head of affairs: and it will be worth while to describe their end, and how far they came short of their father in happiness.

CHAP. III.

How Aristobulus was the first that wore a Diadem on his Head, and after he had put his Mother and Brother Antigonus to death, died himself, when he had reigned no more than a Year.

§ 1.

FOR after the death of their father, Aristobulus, the elder of them, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem upon his head, four hundred and seventy-one years and three months after our people returned to their own country, after being set free from the Babylonian slavery. Now, of his brothers, he appeared to have most affection for Antigonus, who was next to him, and he treated him as his equal, but as for the rest, he bound them, and put them in prison. He also put his mother in bonds for contesting the government with him, for John had left her at the head of affairs, and proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be starved to death in prison.

§ 2. But vengeance came upon him at last in the case of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved and made his partner in the kingdom; for he slew him also owing to the calumnies which wicked men about the court fabricated against him. At first, indeed, Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly from the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales sprang only from envy; however, as Antigonus came in a splendid manner from an expedition to the feast, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened during those days that Aristobulus was ill; and at the end of the feast Antigonus went up to the temple with his armed men about him, and dressed in the finest manner possible, to pray to God earnestly on behalf

of his brother. Meantime these wicked men came to the king, and told him of the procession of armed men, and of the elation of Antigonus, too great for a private person, and said that he was at hand with a great band of men to kill Aristobulus; for he could not endure the bare enjoyment of royal honour, when it was in his power to have the kingdom himself.

§ 3. Now it was only by degrees and unwillingly that Aristobulus gave credit to these accusations, and he took care not to show his suspicion openly, but to make himself secure against any accidents, so he placed his body-guards in a dark subterranean passage; for he lay ill in a place formerly called Baris, though afterwards its name was changed to Antonia;[1] and he gave orders, that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone, but if he came in his armour, they should kill him. He also sent some to tell Antigonus beforehand to come unarmed. But in reference to this the queen very cunningly acted in concert with those that plotted against Antigonus, for she urged those that were sent to conceal the king's message, and to tell Antigonus that his brother had heard he had got a very fine suit of armour made in Galilee with fine martial ornaments, and because his present illness hindered him from coming and seeing it, he very much desired to see him now in his armour, "because, (said he,) in a little time you are going away from me."

§ 4. As soon as Antigonus heard this (the good disposition of his brother to him not allowing him to suspect any harm), he came with his armour on to show it to his brother; but as he was going along that dark passage, which was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body-guards, and became a clear proof how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affection, and how none of our good feelings are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

§ 5. But one might marvel at the account of the conduct of Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essenes, and had never erred or been deceived in his predictions before. Now as he saw Antigonus passing along by the temple, he cried out to his friends (for not a few

[1] The citadel north of the Temple. Antiq. xv. 11, § 4.

attended upon him as his scholars), "Alas! it is good for me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and something that I have foretold has proved false. For Antigonus is here alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he was fated to be slain is Strato's Tower, which is six hundred furlongs from this place; and yet four hours of this day are already over, so that the time falsifies the prediction." When the old man had said this, he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But a little time after news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterranean place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, as well as Cæsarea on the coast, and it was this ambiguity that troubled the prophet.

§ 6. However, Aristobulus soon repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, and his remorse made his illness grow worse, and his mind being constantly disturbed at the thoughts of the murder he had done, he wasted away, till his bowels being lacerated by the intolerable grief he was in, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And as one of the pages that attended him carried out that blood, by some supernatural providence he slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain, and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the still visible stains of blood of him that had been murdered. Thereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the page had spilt the blood on purpose in that place; and as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it? And as nobody ventured to tell him, he pressed them so much the more, desiring to know what was the matter; so at last, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told him the truth. Thereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, "So I perceive I am not like to escape the great eye of God, as to the atrocious crimes I have committed, but swift vengeance pursues me for the blood of my kinsman. O most shameful body, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die for a mother and a brother slain? how long shall I myself spend my blood drop by drop? Let them take it all at once; and let their manes be no longer disappointed by my bowels being offered to them piecemeal." As soon as he had said these words he died, having reigned only a year.

CHAP. IV.

What Actions were done by Alexander, who reigned Twenty-seven Years.

§ 1.

AND now the king's widow set free the king's brothers, and made Alexander king, who both from his age and moderation appeared preferable to the rest. And he, when he came to the throne, slew one of his brothers who aimed at the kingdom himself, but held the remaining one left in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, and not meddling in public affairs.

§ 2. Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called Lathurus, who had taken the city of Asochis.[1] He indeed slew many of his enemies, but the victory inclined to Ptolemy. But when this Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara,[2] and took it, as also Amathus,[3] which was the strongest of all the fortresses beyond the Jordan, and in it were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus the son of Zeno. But Theodorus suddenly attacked him, and took what belonged to himself as well as the king's baggage, and slew about ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander recovered this blow, and turned towards the maritime parts, and took Raphia[4] and Gaza,[5] and also Anthedon,[6] which was afterwards called Agrippias by king Herod.

§ 3. But when he had reduced these cities to slavery, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival; for seditions generally break out at those feasts. And it looked as if he would not be able to escape the plot

[1] Probably *Kefr Menda*, above the plain *el-Buttauf*. Life, 41, 45, 68; Antiq. xiii. 12, § 4.

[2] *Umm Keis*. Life, 65; Antiq. xiv. 4, § 4; xv. 7, § 3; xvii. 11, § 4.

[3] *'Amâteh*. Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xvii. 10, § 6.

[4] Twenty-two miles S.W. of Gaza. Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3; xiv. 5, § 3.

[5] *Ghuzzeh*.

[6] Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3; xiv. 5, § 3; xv. 7, § 3.

they had laid for him, had not his foreign troops of Pisidians and Cilicians assisted him: for, as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity to the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia, and when he had subdued the Gileadites and Moabites there, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Amathus. And, as Theodorus was thunderstruck at his great success, he found the fortress of Amathus undefended, and rased it to the ground.

§ 4. But afterwards, when he fought with Obedas, king of the Arabians, who laid an ambush for him near Gaulane,[1] he lost his entire army, as it was crowded together in a deep valley, and trodden to pieces by the multitude of camels. And, when he had escaped to Jerusalem, he provoked the nation who had long hated him to make an insurrection against him from the greatness of his reverses. However, he was then too strong for them, and in several successive battles slew no less than fifty thousand of the Jews in six years. But he had no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did but exhaust his own kingdom; so that at last he left off fighting, and endeavoured to be reconciled to his subjects. But this change and inconsistency in his conduct made them hate him still more. And when he asked them why they so hated him, and what he should do in order to appease them? they said by dying; indeed it would be all they could do then to be reconciled to him, who had done such harm to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited to their aid Demetrius, who was surnamed Eucærus; and as he readily complied with their request in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined these their auxiliaries near Shechem.[2]

§ 5. However, Alexander met both these forces with a thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, who were mercenaries. He had also with him about ten thousand Jews who were faithful to him. But his enemies had three thousand horse, and fourteen thousand foot. Now, before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation, and endeavoured to draw off each other's soldiers, for Demetrius

[1] Antiq. xiii. 15, § 3. [2] *Nâblus.*

hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him, and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to leave him. But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement, and to a close fight with their weapons; in which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries showed the greatest bravery both of soul and body. But the upshot of the battle proved different from what was expected on both sides; for not only did those that had invited Demetrius not continue with him, though he was conqueror, but six thousand Jews, out of pity at the reverse of Alexander, came over to him when he had fled to the mountains. Demetrius could not bear this turn of affairs, but supposing that Alexander was already a match for him again, and that all the nation would go back to him, went his way home.

§ 6. However, the rest of the Jewish people did not lay aside their animosity to Alexander when Demetrius and his force were gone, but they had a perpetual war with him, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city of Bemeselis,[1] and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. And now his rage had grown so excessive, that his savageness proceeded to the degree of impiety; for when he had had eight hundred of those that were taken hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes, and he gazed at all this as he was drinking and reclining with his concubines. Thereupon such dejection seized the people, that eight thousand of his opponents fled away the very next night from all Judæa, whose exile was terminated only by Alexander's death. Thus at last, though not without great difficulty, he procured by such actions quiet for his kingdom, and rested from arms.

§ 7. But Antiochus, who was surnamed Dionysus, became a source of troubles to him again. He was the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the Seleucidæ. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians; so he cut a deep trench between Antipatris,[2] which was near

[1] Called Bethome in Antiq. xiii. 14, § 2.

[2] *Rás el-'Ain.* Antiq. xiii. 15, § 1; xvi. 5, § 2.

the mountains, and the shores of Joppa; and also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers, in order to obstruct and render difficult his approach. However, he was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers and filled up the trench, and marched on with his army. And postponing his revenge on Alexander for endeavouring to stop him, he marched at once against the Arabians, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy, and then suddenly made his horse wheel round, who were in number ten thousand, and fell upon Antiochus' army while they were in disorder. And a terrible battle ensued, and Antiochus' troops, as long as he was alive, held out, although a mighty slaughter was made of them by the Arabians; but when he fell, (for he was always in the front, rallying his beaten troops,) they all gave ground, and most of his army were cut to pieces, either in the action or the flight; and as for the rest, who fled to the village of Cana,[1] it happened that they all perished for want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

§ 8. After this the people of Damascus, in their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, invited in Aretas and made him king of Cœle-Syria.[2] He also made an expedition into Judæa, and beat Alexander in battle, but afterwards retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella,[3] marched to Gerasa,[4] moved by a covetous desire for Theodorus' possessions, and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Gaulane[5] and Seleucia,[6] and what was called the Valley of Antiochus;[7] besides which, he took the strong fortress of Gamala,[8] and stripped Demetrius who was governor of it of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge, and returned to Judæa, after he had been three whole years on this expedition. And

[1] Antiq. xiii. 15, § 1.
[2] Antiq. i. 11, § 5; xiii. 13, §§ 2, 3; 15, § 2; xiv. 4, § 5.
[3] *Tubakât Fahîl.* Antiq. xiii. 15, § 4; xiv. 4, § 4.
[4] *Jerash.*
[5] See Jewish War, i. 4, § 4.
[6] Life, 37; Antiq. xiii. 7, § 1; 15, § 3.
[7] Antiq. xiii. 15, § 3.
[8] *Kul'at el-Husn.* Life, 11, 37; Antiq. xviii. 5, § 1.

now he was kindly received by the nation because of the success he had had, but now he was at rest from war, he fell ill. For he was afflicted with a quartan ague, and thought that he would get rid of his complaint by exercising himself again in martial affairs; but by making such expeditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his body to undergo hardships greater than his strength, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven-and-twenty years.

CHAP. V.

Alexandra reigns nine Years, during which time the Pharisees were the real Rulers of the Nation.

§ 1.

NOW Alexander left the kingdom to Alexandra his wife, being sure that the Jews would very readily submit to her, because she had been very averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with, and had opposed his lawless acts, and had so got the good will of the people. Nor was he mistaken as to his hope; for his wife got the throne in consequence of her reputation for piety; for she accurately observed the ancient customs of her country, and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws. And she made Hyrcanus, the elder of her two sons by Alexander, high priest, on account of his age, as also on account of his inactive temper, which indisposed him to disturb the public; but she kept the younger, Aristobulus, as a private person, because of his impetuosity.

§ 2. And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. They are a body of Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Now Alexandra attached herself to them in an extraordinary degree, being a woman of great piety towards God. And these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her simplicity by little and

little, and became themselves the real admininistrators of public affairs. They banished and recalled from exile, bound and loosed, whom they pleased, and in short had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon getting a large army together, so that she doubled her army, and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only powerful but terrible also to foreign potentates. So she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.

§ 3. Accordingly they themselves slew Diogenes, a person of note, who had been a friend of Alexander; having accused him of having advised the king to crucify the eight hundred men.[1] They also urged Alexandra to put to death the rest of those who had irritated Alexander against them. And as she gave way from her religious feelings, they wished to kill whom they pleased, but the most eminent of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus, who urged his mother to spare the men on account of their position, but to expel them out of the city, unless she took them to be innocent; so they were suffered to go unpunished, and were dispersed all over the country. But when Alexandra sent her army to Damascus, on the pretext that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it, nor did it make any considerable resistance. She also tried by agreements and presents to get Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops before Ptolemais,[2] and besieged Cleopatra, to go away. But Tigranes raised the siege first, because of troubles at home, for Lucullus had invaded Armenia.

§ 4. In the meantime Alexandra fell ill, and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity with his domestics (of whom he had many, who were all of them his friends on account of his warmth of heart,) and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the money he found in them to get together a band of mercenary soldiers, and made himself king. At this, upon Hyrcanus' complaint, his mother commiserated his case, and put Aristo-

[1] See ch. iv. § 6.

[2] *'Akka.*

bulus' wife and sons under restraint in Antonia, which was a fortress adjacent to the north slope of the temple. It was, as I have already said, of old called Baris,[1] but afterwards got the name of Antonia, when Antony was in power, just as the other cities, Sebaste[2] and Agrippias,[3] had their names changed from Sebastus and Agrippa. But Alexandra died before she could punish Aristobulus for deposing his brother, after she had reigned nine years.

CHAP. VI.

As Hyrcanus, who was Alexandra's Heir, receded from his Claim of the Crown, Aristobulus is made King, and afterwards the same Hyrcanus, by the agency of Antipater, is brought back by Aretas. At last Pompey is made the Arbitrator of the Dispute between the Brothers.

§ 1.

NOW Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom, and his mother gave it him before she died, but Aristobulus was superior to him in power and spirit. And a battle having taken place between them for the kingdom near Jericho, most deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus. And Hyrcanus, with those of his party who remained with him, fled to Antonia, and got into his power hostages that might be for his safety (these were Aristobulus' wife and her children); but the brothers came to an agreement, before things came to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that, but retain all the rest of his dignities, as being the king's brother. Thereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced one another in a very kind manner, as the people stood round; they also changed their houses, for Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

§ 2. Now all those who were at variance with Aris-

[1] The citadel north of the Temple. Antiq. xv. 11, § 4.
[2] *Sebustieh.*
[3] Anthedon. See Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

tobulus were afraid at his thus unexpectedly obtaining the kingdom, and especially Antipater, whom Aristobulus hated of old. He was by race an Idumæan, and the principal man of his nation on account of his ancestors and riches and other power. He also urged Hyrcanus to flee to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and so to recover his kingdom, and at the same time he urged Aretas to receive Hyrcanus, and to restore him to his kingdom; he also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus as to his morals, and gave great commendations to Hyrcanus, and exhorted Aretas to receive him, and told him how becoming a thing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to extend his assistance to such as were unjustly treated; and he said Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of the dominions which belonged to him by the priority of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and escaped from the city, and continuing his flight with great swiftness, got safe to the place called Petra,[1] which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia. There he put Hyrcanus into Aretas' hand, and by much conversation with Aretas, and gaining him over with many presents, he prevailed upon him to furnish him with an army that might restore Hyrcanus to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand foot and horse, against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was deserted at the first onset, and was forced into Jerusalem: and would also have been taken by force, had not Scaurus, the Roman general, come and seasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege. He was sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, who was fighting against Tigranes: and he went to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and he removed them from there, and on hearing how the affairs of Judæa stood, he hastened there as to a windfall.

§ 3. And directly he entered the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance. But Aristobulus' three hundred talents had more weight with him than justice; for when

[1] The modern Petra. Antiq. iv. 4, § 7; 7, § 1; xiv. 1, § 4.

Scaurus had received that sum, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans and Pompey, unless they raised the siege. So Aretas was terrified, and retired from Judæa to Philadelphia,[1] and Scaurus returned to Damascus. But Aristobulus was not satisfied with not being captured, but gathered all his forces together, and pursued his enemies, and fought them at a place called Papyron,[2] and killed more than six thousand of them, and among them Antipater's brother, Phallion.

§ 4. When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of the aid of the Arabians, they transferred their hope to their adversaries: and as Pompey had passed through Syria and come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance; and without gifts they made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Aretas, and besought him to hate the violent behaviour of Aristobulus, and to restore the kingdom to him to whom it justly belonged, both on account of his character and priority in age. However, neither was Aristobulus wanting to himself, relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received, but was also present himself, attired as like a king as he was able. But thinking it beneath him to dance attendance upon Pompey, and not enduring to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than his rank, he departed from Diospolis.[3]

§ 5. At this Pompey was very indignant, Hyrcanus also and his friends made great supplication to him, so he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. And when he had passed by Pella and Scythopolis, and was come to Coreæ,[4] where you enter into the country of Judæa, when you go to it through the inland parts, he heard that Aristobulus had fled to Alexandrium,[5] which is a stronghold fortified with the utmost magnificence, and situated upon a high mountain, and he sent to him and commanded him to come down. Now Aristobulus' inclination was to try his fortune in

[1] See Jewish War, i. 2, § 4.
[2] Antiq. xiv. 2, § 3.
[3] Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.
[4] *Keriût.* Antiq. xiv. 3, § 4.
[5] *Kefr Istûna.* Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 3, § 4; 5, § 4.

battle, since he was summoned in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that summons; but he saw the people were in great fear, and his friends exhorted him to consider how irresistible the power of the Romans was. So he complied with their advice, and came down to Pompey; and when he had made a long defence as to the justice of his taking the kingdom, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother summoned him again, he came down and spoke about the justice of his claim, and then went away without any hindrance from Pompey. So he was between hope and fear, and he came down to importune Pompey to entrust every thing to him, and he went up again to the citadel, not to appear to debase himself too low. When Pompey however commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their commanders to yield them up, for they had had this charge given them to obey no letters but such as were in his own handwriting, he did what he was ordered to do, but was very indignant at what was done, and retired to Jerusalem, and made preparations to fight against Pompey.

§ 6. But Pompey did not give him time to make much preparation, but followed close at his heels, being further obliged to make haste owing to the death of Mithridates, of which he was informed near Jericho, where is the most fruitful country of Judæa, which produces a great number of palm trees, besides the balsam tree, whose trunks they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions gather the juice which exudes. And Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and pushed on the next morning to Jerusalem; but Aristobulus was so dismayed at his approach, that he came and met him as a suppliant, and promised him money, and to put both himself and the city at his disposal, and so mitigated the anger of Pompey. However, he did not perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus' party would not so much as admit Gabinius, who was sent to receive the promised money, into the city.

CHAP. VII.

How Pompey had the City of Jerusalem delivered up to him, but took the Temple by Storm. How he went into the Holy of Holies; also his other Exploits in Judæa.

§ 1.

AT this Pompey was very angry, and detained Aristobulus in bonds, and went to the city, and looked about where he might make his attack; for he saw that the walls were so strong, that it would be hard to attack them, and that the ravine before the walls was terrible, and that the temple, which was within that ravine, was surrounded with a very strong wall, insomuch that if the city were taken, the temple would be a second line of defence for the enemy to retire to.

§ 2. Now as he was a long time deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city, Aristobulus' party demanding to fight and set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey; and dread made these last a very numerous party, when they looked upon the good order of the Roman soldiers. So Aristobulus' party lost the day and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together, and prepared to hold out to the utmost. But as the others received the Romans into the city, and delivered up the palace, Pompey sent Piso, one of the generals under him, into that palace with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation; he then made arrangements all round for attack, having Hyrcanus' party very ready to afford both counsel and assistance.

§ 3. Then Pompey himself filled up the trench that was on the north slope of the temple and the entire ravine also, the army itself bringing up the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up the ravine because of its immense depth, especially as the Jews used

all possible means to repel them from above; nor would the Romans have succeeded in their endeavours, had not Pompey utilized the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work for religious worship, and raised his bank then, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days; for the Jews only acted on the defensive on sabbath-days. And as soon as Pompey had filled up the ravine, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought up those engines which had been fetched from Tyre near to the wall, and tried to batter it down. And the slingers of stones beat off those above them and repulsed them: but the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance, and were extraordinarily big and handsome.

§ 4. Then indeed, as the Romans were very distressed, Pompey could not but marvel not only at the other proofs of the Jews' fortitude, but especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were deluged with darts on all sides. For as if the city was in profound peace, the daily sacrifices and purifications, and every part of their religious worship, were still performed to God with the utmost exactness. Nor indeed, when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain round the altar, did they leave off their usual worship. For it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could with great difficulty overthrow one of the towers and get into the temple. Now the first of all that ventured to get over the wall, was Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sulla; and next after him were two centurions, Furius and Fabius; and each of these was followed by his own company of men, who surrounded the Jews on all sides, and slew some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple, and others as they resisted for a while.

§ 5. And now many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies advancing with swords in their hands, calmly went on with divine worship, and were slain, as they were offering drink-offerings, and burning incense, preferring their duties to God to their own preservation. Most were slain by their own countrymen of the adverse faction, and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices; nay, there were some who were so distracted at the terrible position they were in, that they set fire to the

buildings that were near the wall, and were burnt with them. And twelve thousand of the Jews were slain, while very few of the Romans were dead, but a great many were wounded.

§ 6. But nothing affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were now in, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers. Pompey, at any rate, and his suite went into the temple itself, where it was not lawful for any one to enter but the high priest, and saw what was deposited therein, the candlestick and the lamps and the table and the pouring vessels and the censers, all made entirely of gold, also a great quantity of spices heaped together, and two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch that money, nor any thing else that was there deposited; but he commanded the priests of the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it, and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high priest, as one having not only in other respects shown great zeal during the siege, but having also been the means of hindering the people in the district from fighting for Aristobulus, which they were very desirous to do. In this way he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by goodwill than fear. Now, among the captives, Aristobulus' father-in-law was taken, who was also his uncle. And Pompey punished those that were the chief authors of the war by beheading, but rewarded Faustus and those that had fought so bravely with him with glorious presents, and laid a tribute upon the country and upon Jerusalem itself.

§ 7. He also took away from the Jews all those cities they had taken in Cœle-Syria, and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman general there, and confined Judæa within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara,[1] (which had been demolished by the Jews,) to gratify one Demetrius, who was from Gadara, and was one of his own freedmen. He also made other cities free from their dominion that lay in the interior of the country, as many as they had not demolished before, as

[1] Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

Hippos,[1] and Scythopolis,[2] and Pella,[3] and Samaria,[4] and Marissa,[5] and besides these, Azotus,[6] and Jamnia,[7] and Arethusa:[8] and he dealt in like manner with the maritime cities, as Gaza,[9] and Joppa, and Dora,[10] and that which was anciently called Strato's Tower, which was afterwards rebuilt with the most magnificent edifices by king Herod, and had its name changed to Cæsarea.[11] All these he restored to their own citizens, and put them in the province of Syria; which province, together with Judæa, and all the country as far as Egypt and the Euphrates, he handed over to Scaurus to administer, and gave him two legions, and himself pushed on through Cilicia to Rome, taking Aristobulus and his family with him as his captives. This family consisted of two daughters and two sons, one of whom, Alexander, escaped on the road, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome with his sisters.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus, who escaped from Pompey, makes an Expedition against Hyrcanus; but being overcome by Gabinius, he delivers up the Fortresses to him. After this Aristobulus escapes from Rome, and gathers an Army together; but being beaten by the Romans, he is brought back to Rome; with other things relating to Gabinius, Crassus, and Cassius.

§ 1.

MEANTIME Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the region near Petra.[12] However, he laid waste the country round Pella,[13]

[1] *Sûsiyeh.* Life, 10, 31, 65; Antiq. xiv. 4, § 4; xv. 7, § 3; xvii. 11, § 4.
[2] Jewish War, i. 2, § 7. [3] Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.
[4] *Sebustieh.* [5] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.
[6] *Esdûd.* Antiq. vi. 1, §§ 1, 2; xii. 7, § 4; 8, § 6; xiii. 4, § 4; xiv. 5, § 3; xvii. 8, § 1.
[7] Jewish War, i. 2, § 2. [8] *Restan.* Antiq. xiv. 4, § 4.
[9] *Ghuzzeh.* [10] *Tantûrah.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.
[11] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh.* Antiq. xv. 8, § 5; 9, § 6; xx. 8, § 7.
[12] Jewish War, i. 6, § 2. [13] Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

though even there he was in distress, for his army suffered from famine. In order to supply this want, Hyrcanus afforded him some assistance, and sent him provisions by Antipater, whom Scaurus also sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to purchase peace by money. The king of Arabia listened to him, and gave him three hundred talents, upon which Scaurus withdrew his army from Arabia.

§ 2. As for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who escaped from Pompey, he got in time a considerable band of men together, and overran Judæa, and was a formidable foe to Hyrcanus, and seemed likely to depose him quickly, and indeed would have come to Jerusalem, and ventured to rebuild the wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who was sent into Syria as successor to Scaurus, showed his bravery, as in many other points, so in marching against Alexander. And as he was afraid that Gabinius would attack him, he got together a large army, composed of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and built walls about strategic positions, as Alexandrium,[1] and Hyrcanium,[2] and Machærus,[3] near the mountains of Arabia.

§ 3. But Gabinius sent before him Mark Antony, and followed himself with his whole army. And the picked men with Antipater, and the other body of Jews, under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus, joined those captains that were with Mark Antony, and met Alexander. And not long after came up Gabinius with the main army. And as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies' forces, now they were united, he retreated, but when he got near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men in the battle, of whom three thousand fell, and three thousand were taken alive, and he fled with the rest to Alexandrium.

§ 4. Now, when Gabinius was come to Alexandrium, as he found many encamped there, by promising them pardon for their former offences, he tried to induce them to come over to him without fight; but as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he slew many of them, and

[1] Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.
[2] Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xvii. 7.
[3] *Mekaur.* Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xviii. 5, §§ 1, 2.

shut up the rest in the citadel. In this battle the general Mark Antony greatly distinguished himself, who always showed great courage, but never so much as now. But Gabinius, leaving forces to take the fortress, went away himself, and set in order the cities that had not been ravaged, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his orders, the following cities were inhabited again, Scythopolis,[1] Samaria,[2] Anthedon,[3] Apollonia,[4] Jamnia,[5] Raphia,[6] Marissa,[7] Adoreus,[8] Gamala,[9] Azotus,[10] and many others, as inhabitants readily flocked into each of them.

§ 5. After Gabinius had seen to these things, he returned to Alexandrium, and pressed on the siege so vigorously, that Alexander, as he despaired of ever obtaining the kingdom, sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had done amiss, and surrendered to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium [11] and Machærus,[12] and put Alexandrium [13] into his hands afterwards: all of which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not be a *point d'appui* in a second war. She had now come to mollify Gabinius, in her concern for her husband and other children, who were captives at Rome. After this Gabinius restored Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him, but changed the civil polity into an aristocracy. He also divided the whole nation into five centres, assigning one to Jerusalem, another to Gadara,[14] another to Amathus,[15] a fourth to Jericho, and the fifth to Sepphoris,[16] a city of Galilee. And the people were glad to be freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.

[1] Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.
[2] Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.
[3] Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[4] *Arsûf.* Antiq. xiii. 15, § 4.
[5] Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.
[6] Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[7] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.
[8] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.
[9] Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.
[10] *Esdûd.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.
[11] Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4.
[12] *Mekaur.* Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xviii. 5, §§ 1, 2.
[13] Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.
[14] *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[15] Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[16] *Sefûrieh.* Life, 8; 12, 15, 65, 67, 71; Antiq. xiv. 5, § 4; xvii. 10, § 9; xviii. 2, § 1.

§ 6. But not long afterwards Aristobulus was the beginning of new trouble, for he escaped from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of change, who had borne affection to him of old; and when he had first taken Alexandrium,[1] he attempted to rebuild it. But as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him under Sisenna and Antony and Servilius, when he was aware of it, he retreated to Machærus.[2] And as for the useless multitude he dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, who were about eight thousand, among whom was Pitholaus, who had been lieutenant-general at Jerusalem, and had deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men. And the Romans followed him, and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus' men for a long time fought courageously; but at length they were overcome by the Romans, and five thousand of them were slain, and about two thousand fled to a hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus cut their way through the Roman army, and marched together to Machærus. And when the king had lodged there the first night among its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war did but cease a while, so he fortified that stronghold after a sort. But as the Romans attacked him, he resisted beyond his strength for two days, and was then taken and brought in bonds before Gabinius, with Antigonus his son, who had fled with him from Rome, and from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. And the senate put him in prison, but sent his children back to Judæa, because Gabinius informed them by letters, that he had promised Aristobulus' wife to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

§ 7. And now, as Gabinius was setting out to war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy, whom he brought back to Egypt, returning from the Euphrates, and making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide everything that was necessary for the army. For Antipater furnished him with money, and weapons, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed upon the Jews that were

[1] Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.
[2] *Mekaur.* Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xviii. 5, §§ 1, 2.

there, and guarded the passes near Pelusium,[1] to let Gabinius pass by. But now, upon Gabinius' departure, the other part of Syria was in commotion, and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, induced the Jews to revolt again; and getting together a very large force, set about killing all the Romans that were in the country. Thereupon Gabinius was afraid, (for he was come back already from Egypt, being obliged to come back quickly by these disturbances,) and sent Antipater, and prevailed upon some of the rebels to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, and he was himself eager to fight also; accordingly, Gabinius went out to fight, and the Jews met him, and the battle was fought near Mount Tabor, and ten thousand Jews were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed in flight. And Gabinius went to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater wished; and from thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabatæans; as for Mithridates and Orsanes, who had fled out of Parthia, he sent them away privately, but gave it out among the soldiers that they had escaped.

§ 8. In the mean time, Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple at Jerusalem, in order to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians, and also took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not touched. But when he had crossed over the Euphrates, he perished himself, and his army with him; as to which it is not now the time to speak.

§ 9. But as the Parthians were hastening to pass into Syria after Crassus, Cassius, who had fled into that province, checked them. And when he had taken possession of that province, he made a hasty march into Judæa: and upon his taking Taricheæ,[2] he enslaved thirty thousand Jews. He also put to death Pitholaus (who had supported the rebellious followers of Aristobulus), as Antipater advised him to do. This Antipater had married a wife whose name was Cypros, of an eminent family among the Arabians, and had four sons by her, Phasaelus, and Herod who was afterwards king, and, besides these, Joseph and

[1] *Tineh.* Antiq. x. 1, § 4; xiv. 8, § 1; 14, § 2.
[2] *Kerak.* Life, 26, 27, 32, 37; Antiq. xiv. 7, § 3; xx. 8, § 4.

Pheroras, and a daughter Salome. Now, as he made himself friends among men of power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable way in which he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia by his marriage; and when he made war against Aristobulus, he sent and intrusted his children to him. And when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to the Euphrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from crossing over it; concerning which I shall speak elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

Aristobulus is taken off by Pompey's friends, and his Son Alexander by Scipio. Antipater cultivates a Friendship with Cæsar after Pompey's Death; he alse performs great Actions in the War, wherein he assisted Mithridates.

§ 1.

NOW, upon the flight of Pompey and the senate beyond the Ionian Sea,[1] Cæsar got Rome and the Empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds; and committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria, hoping that by him he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjacent to Judæa. But envy prevented Aristobulus' alacrity and the hopes of Cæsar; for he was taken off by poison given him by those of Pompey's party, and for a long while had not so much as burial in his native country; for his dead body lay preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, to be buried in the royal sepulchres.

§ 2. His son Alexander was also beheaded by Scipio at Antioch, and that at the command of Pompey, upon an accusation being laid against him before his tribunal for the harm he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, who was then ruler of Chalcis[1] under Mount Libanus,[2] took his brothers, sending his son Philippio for

[1] *Kinnisrin.* Antiq. xiv. 3, § 2; 7, § 4.
[2] The range of Mount Lebanon.

them to Ascalon.[1] And he took Antigonus and his sisters away from Aristobulus' wife, and brought them to his father; and falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her, and was afterwards slain by his father on her account; for Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married Alexandra, for that was her name, on account of which marriage he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

§ 3. Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and paid court to Cæsar. And, since Mithridates of Pergamus[2] was excluded, with the forces he was leading into Egypt, from the passes near Pelusium,[3] and was detained at Ascalon, he persuaded the Arabians, whose guest he was, to assist him, and marched himself at the head of three thousand armed Jews. He also stirred up the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also the inhabitants of Libanus, as Ptolemy and Jamblichus, owing to whom the cities in that district joined readily in the war; so that Mithridates now ventured, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had got through Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium, and when he was refused a passage by it, he besieged that city. And Antipater greatly distinguished himself in the attack, for he broke down that part of the wall which was opposite to him, and was the first to leap into the city, with the men that were with him.

§ 4. Thus was Pelusium taken. But as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the district called the district of Onias, tried to bar their way. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but even to afford provisions for the army; on which account even the people about Memphis[4] would not fight against them, but of their own accord joined Mithridates. So he went round the Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called the Jews' Camp.[5] And when he was in danger in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled round and came along the shore of the

[1] *'Ascalân.* Antiq. v. 1, § 22; vi. 1, § 2; xvii. 11, § 5.
[2] *Bergama*, on the west coast of Asia Minor, north of Smyrna.
[3] Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.
[4] *Mitrahamy.* Antiq. ii. 10, § 1; viii. 6, § 2; xii. 4, § 3; xiv. 8, § 1.
[5] Possibly *Tell el-Yehûdi.* Antiq. xiv. 8, § 2.

river to his help, having beaten those that opposed him as he led the left wing. He then fell upon those that pursued Mithridates, and slew many of them, and pursued the remainder so far that he took their camp, and lost only eighty of his own men, while Mithridates lost during the rout about eight hundred. Being thus himself saved unexpectedly, Mithridates became an unenvious witness to Cæsar of the great actions of Antipater.

§ 5. Thereupon Cæsar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him by praise and hopes: in all which enterprises he readily exposed himself, and became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds, almost all over his body, as proofs of his valour. And, when Cæsar had settled affairs in Egyyt, and had returned to Syria, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the other honours and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. It was also on his account that he confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar makes Antipater Governor of Judæa; and Antipater appoints Phasaelus to be Governor of Jerusalem, and Herod Governor of Galilee; who some time after is called to take his trial before Hyrcanus, when he is acquitted. Sextus Cæsar is treacherously killed by Bassus, and is succeeded by Murcus.

§ 1.

ABOUT this time Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, went to Cæsar, and became (wonderfully enough) the cause of Antipater's further advancement. For whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his differences with Pompey, and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to have mixed any invidious passion when he was suing for mercy, besides these things he came forward and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater of having

banished him and his brothers most inequitably out of all their native country, and of having acted in a great many instances petulantly and insultingly to their nation, and said that as to the assistance they had sent Cæsar in Egypt, it was not done out of good-will to him, but from the fear they were in from former differences, and in order to gain pardon for their former friendship to Pompey.

§ 2. Thereupon Antipater stripped off his garment, and showed the number of wounds he had, and said, that as to his good-will to Cæsar, he had no occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing himself: but he wondered at Antigonus' boldness, who was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive of the Romans, and had inherited from his father a fondness for innovation and rebellion, that he should undertake to accuse other men before the Roman governor, and endeavour to gain some advantage for himself, when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live; and his present ambition was not so much because he was in want, but because, if he could once obtain what he aimed at, he might stir up faction among the Jews, and use what he had gained from the Romans to their injury.

§ 3. When Cæsar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, and gave leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased. But Antipater left the determination of such dignity to him that bestowed the dignity upon him, so he was constituted governor of all Judæa, and obtained leave, moreover, to rebuild those walls in Jerusalem that had been thrown down. And Cæsar ordered these honours to be engraved in the Capitol, that they might stand there as an indication of his own justice and the virtue of Antipater.

§ 4. Now as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judæa, and the first thing he did was to rebuild that wall in Jerusalem which Pompey had overthrown, and next he went all over the country and quieted the tumults that were therein, partly threatening and partly advising every one, and telling them that if they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and quietly, and enjoy what they possessed with universal

peace; but if they hearkened to the cold hopes of those who wished to get themselves some gain by innovation, they should then find him to be their despot instead of their protector, and should find Hyrcanus to be a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans and Cæsar to be their enemies instead of rulers and friends; for they would not suffer him to be removed from the government, whom they had themselves appointed. And at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive, and too remiss for royal power. So he appointed his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jerusalem and of the neighbourhood; he also sent his next son, Herod, who was quite young, with equal authority into Galilee.

§ 5. Now Herod was by nature an active man, and soon found scope for his energy. For as he found that Ezekias, a robber-chief, overran the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he took and slew him and many of the robbers, and this exploit was especially gratifying to the Syrians, insomuch that Herod's commendation was sung both in the villages and cities, as having procured their quietness, and preserved to them their possessions. From this circumstance he became acquainted with Sextus Cæsar, a kinsman of the great Cæsar, and administrator of Syria. A just emulation of his brother's glorious actions incited Phasaelus also to imitate him, and by his management of the city he procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner. So the nation paid Antipater the court due to a king, and the honours that all yielded him were equal to the honours due to a despot; he did not however abate any of the good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

§ 6. But it is impossible to escape envy in prosperity. For the fame of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself privately, but what he was principally vexed at was the great success of Herod, and that so many messengers came one after another, and informed him of the great reputation Herod had got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the palace who inflamed his envy at him, such as were obstructed in their designs

by the prudence either of the young men or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing public affairs to the management of Antipater and of his sons, Hyrcanus sat down with nothing but the bare name of king without any power; and they asked him, how long he would act so foolishly as to breed up kings against his own interest? For they did not now conceal their control of affairs, but were plainly lords of the nation, and had set him aside, since Herod slew so many men contrary to the law of the Jews, without Hyrcanus giving him any command to do so, either by word of mouth or by letter. If Herod then was not a king, but a private man still, he ought to come to his trial, and answer for his conduct to him, and also to the laws of the country, which did not permit any one to be put to death without trial.

§ 7. Now Hyrcanus was by degrees inflamed by such speeches, and at last could no longer control his rage, but summoned Herod to take his trial. And he at his father's advice, as soon as affairs would give him leave, went up to [Jerusalem,] when he had first placed garrisons in Galilee. But he went with a strong force of soldiers, not so many indeed that he might appear to wish to overthrow Hyrcanus' government, nor yet so few as to expose himself unarmed to envy. However, Sextus Cæsar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken by his enemies, and brought to punishment, so he sent to command Hyrcanus expressly to acquit Herod of the capital charge against him. And Hyrcanus acquitted him accordingly, being otherwise inclined also to do so, because he loved Herod.

§ 8. But Herod, supposing that he had escaped punishment against the wish of the king, retired to Sextus to Damascus, and made every preparation to disobey him, if he should summon him again. Thereupon those that were ill-disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him that Herod had gone away in anger, and was preparing to make war upon him; and as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do, for he saw that his antagonist was stronger than he was himself. And now, since Herod was made general of Cœle-Syria and Samaria by Sextus Cæsar, he was formidable, not only from the good-will which the nation bore him, but from his own power, so that Hyrcanus

fell into the utmost terror, and expected he would presently march against him with his army.

§ 9. Nor was he mistaken in his opinion, for Herod got his army together, from anger at Hyrcanus' threatening him with trial, and led it to Jerusalem, to depose him from his kingdom. And this he would soon have done, had not his father and brother come to him and broken the force of his fury, and exhorted him to carry his revenge no further than by threatening and frightening him, and to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power. They added that he ought not to be so much provoked at his having been tried, as not to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor so to dwell upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his safety; and if one ought to reckon that God was the arbitrator of success in war, an unjust cause was of more disadvantage than an army could be of advantage; and that therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of success, when he was going to fight against his king and old companion, who had often been his benefactor, and had never been severe to him, except when he had hearkened to evil counsellors, and so thrown a shadow of injury upon him. And Herod was prevailed upon by these arguments, thinking it was enough for his future hopes to have shown his power to the nation.

§ 10. In the mean time, there was a disturbance and civil war among the Romans in the neighbourhood of Apamea,[1] caused by the treacherous murder of Sextus Cæsar by Cæcilius Bassus from his good-will to Pompey. Bassus also assumed the authority over his soldiers, but the rest of Sextus Cæsar's commanders attacked him with their whole army to punish him for the murder of Sextus Cæsar, and Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of the murdered Cæsar and the Cæsar who was still alive, both of whom were his friends. And as this war was protracted, Murcus came from Italy as successor to Sextus Cæsar.

[1] *Kul'at el-Medyk.* Antiq. xiii. 7, § 2; xiv. 3, § 2; 11, § 1.

CHAP. XI.

Herod is made Governor of all Syria: Malichus is afraid of him, and takes Antipater off by Poison; whereupon the Tribunes of the Soldiers are prevailed upon to kill Malichus.

§ 1.

THERE was at this time a great war raised among the Romans because of the sudden and treacherous murder of Julius Cæsar by Cassius and Brutus, after he had been in supreme power three years and seven months. At this murder there was very great commotion, and as the influential persons formed various factions, every one betook himself to that party where he had the greatest hope of advancing himself. And Cassius came into Syria, to take command of the forces that were at Apamea, where he effected a reconciliation between Bassus and Murcus, and the legions that were at variance with Bassus, and raised the siege of Apamea, and took over the command of the army, and went about levying tribute from the cities, and exacting more than they were able to bear.

§ 2. So when Cassius commanded that the Jews should contribute seven hundred talents, Antipater, in dread at his threats, divided the raising of this sum speedily among his sons and some of his friends, and among them he required one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also. Thus necessity forced him to do. Now Herod first gratified Cassius by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favour with him. And Cassius reproached the rest for being tardy, and was angry at the cities themselves. So he enslaved Gophna [1] and Emmaus,[2] and two other cities of less note, and made as though he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute; but Antipater prevented the ruin of

[1] *Jifna.* Antiq. xiv. 11, § 2; Jewish War, v. 2, § 1.

[2] Emmaus Nicopolis, *'Amwâs.* Antiq. xiii. 1, § 3; xiv. 11, § 2; xvii. 10, § 9; Jewish War, ii. 5, § 1; vii. 6, § 6.

Malichus, and the ruin of the other cities, and got into Cassius'[1] favour, by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

§ 3. However, when Cassius was gone, Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid plots against him who had frequently saved him, being anxious to get him out of the way, as he was an obstacle to his wicked practices. And Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond the Jordan in order to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs. But though Malichus was thus detected, he imposed on Antipater's sons by his impudence, for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelus who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod who was intrusted with the weapons of war, by a great many excuses and oaths, and persuaded them to contrive his reconciliation with their father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded Murcus, who was then governor in Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus for his love of innovation.

§ 4. Now when war broke out between Cassius and Brutus on one side and the younger Cæsar[2] and Antony on the other, Cassius and Murcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod seemed to have had a great share in providing necessaries, they made him governor of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius also promised, after the war was over, that he would make him king of Judæa. But it so happened to Antipater that the power and hopes of his son caused his destruction. For as Malichus was afraid of these, he corrupted one of the king's cupbearers with money, to give poison to Antipater, who became a sacrifice to Malichus' wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs, and had recovered and preserved the kingdom for Hyrcanus.

[1] It appears evident by Josephus' accounts, both here and Antiq. xiv. 11, § 2, that this Cassius, one of Cæsar's murderers, was a bitter oppressor, and exactor of tribute in Judæa; these 700 talents amount to about £300,000 sterling, and are about half the yearly revenues of king Herod afterwards. It also appears that Galilee paid no more than 100 talents, or the seventh part of the sum to be levied in all the country.—W.

[2] That is Octavius, afterwards Augustus.

§ 5. However, Malichus, though he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and though the multitude was angry with him for it, denied it, and tried to make the people believe he was not guilty. He also tried to make himself more powerful by raising soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would remain quiet, who indeed marched against him with an army quickly to revenge his father's death. But upon his brother Phasaelus advising him not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should rise in insurrection, he accepted Malichus' apology, and professed that he cleared him of suspicion, and made a splendid funeral for his father.

§ 6. Then Herod went to Samaria,[1] which was in disturbance, and restored the city to order; after which he returned to Jerusalem for the festival, having his armed men with him. Thereupon Hyrcanus, at the instigation of Malichus, who feared his approach, sent and forbade him to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves. But Herod disregarded the pretext and him that gave the command, and entered the city by night. Upon which Malichus came to him again and bewailed the death of Antipater; Herod also feigned to believe him, though he had much ado to restrain his anger, and bitterly complained of the murder of his father in his letters to Cassius, who also on other accounts hated Malichus. So Cassius sent him back word to avenge his father's murder upon him, and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in his righteous action.

§ 7. And because, upon the taking of Laodicea[2] by Cassius, men of influence came together from all quarters, bringing presents and crowns, Herod fixed this time for his taking vengeance on Malichus. As Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw privately his son who was a hostage among the Tyrians, and himself made preparation to escape into Judæa. But the despair he was in of escaping incited him to think of greater things; for he hoped that he might now stir up the nation

[1] Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.
[2] *Latakieh.* Antiq. xiv. 10, § 20; Jewish War, i. 21, § 11.

to revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was occupied in the war against Antony, and that he might easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

§ 8. But fate laughed at his hopes. For Herod foresaw his intention, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper. And calling to him one of the servants that stood by him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality to tell the tribunes of the soldiers beforehand to lie in ambush for Malichus. And they, remembering what orders Cassius had given them, went with their swords in their hands to the seashore before the city, where they surrounded Malichus, and killed him with many wounds. And Hyrcanus immediately swooned away, and fell down in his alarm, and it was with difficulty that he recovered, when he asked Herod who it was that had killed Malichus. And when one of the tribunes of the soldiers replied that it was done by the command of Cassius, "Then, (said he) Cassius has saved both me and my country, by cutting off one that was laying plots against them both." Whether Hyrcanus spoke according to his opinion, or whether his fear made him commend the action by saying so, is uncertain. But this was how Herod satisfied his vengeance on Malichus.

CHAP. XII.

Phasaelus is too strong for Felix; Herod also overcomes Antigonus in Battle; and the Jews accuse both Herod and Phasaelus, but Antony acquits them, and makes them Tetrarchs.

§ 1.

WHEN Cassius had departed from Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, Felix having attacked Phasaelus with an army, that he might avenge the death of Malichus upon Herod through his brother. Now Herod happened to be then with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and though he was anxious to go to his brother's assistance, he was detained by illness. Mean while Phasaelus was by himself too strong for Felix, and

reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for the assistance he had afforded Felix, and for allowing Malichus' brother to seize on the fortresses; for he had seized a great many of them already, and among them the strongest of them all, which was Masada.[1]

§ 2. However, he could not cope with the force of Herod, who, as soon as he was recovered, took all the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada as a suppliant. He also drove out of Galilee Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, who had already seized on three fortified places; but as to those Tyrians whom he captured he preserved them all alive; nay, to some of them he gave presents, and so sent them away, and thereby procured good-will to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant. Marion had indeed obtained his tyrannical power from Cassius, who set tyrants over all Syria; and out of hatred to Herod he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and especially on Fabius' account, whom Antigonus had won over by money to aid him in his return. And Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, supplied everything that he wanted.

§ 3. When Herod had drawn up his army in battle array against these in the passes of Judæa, he conquered them in battle, and routed Antigonus, and returned to Jerusalem, beloved by every body for his glorious success. For even those who did not before favour him, joined themselves to him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus. For as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was called Doris, by whom he had Antipater; so now he married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander the son of Aristobulus, and grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, and thus became a connection of the king.

§ 4. But when Octavius[2] and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi,[3] and Octavius[2] had gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, among the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors

[1] *Schbch.* Antiq. xiv. 11, § 7; 14, § 6; Jewish War, vii. 8, §§ 1, §§ 1, 2.

[2] Afterwards Augustus.

[3] *Filibch.* Antiq. xiv. 12, §§ 2, 3.

to Antony to Bithynia,[1] the leading men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than the mere name of king. Herod appeared to answer this accusation, and, having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, brought him into such a frame of mind that he would not hear his enemies at all. And so they were dismissed at this time.

§ 5. However, after this there came a hundred of the principal men of the Jews to Daphne[2] near Antioch to Antony, who was already madly in love with Cleopatra; and they put forward those men that were the most influential both from rank and eloquence, and accused the brothers.[3] But Messala opposed them, and defended the brothers, and Hyrcanus stood by them because of his connection by marriage with Herod. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus which party was the fittest to govern? And as he replied that Herod and his party were the fittest, Antony was glad (for he had been formerly treated in a hospitable and obliging manner by his father Antipater, when he marched into Judæa with Gabinius), so he made the brothers tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of all Judæa.

§ 6. And when the envoys were indignant at this, Antony took fifteen of them and put them into custody, and wished also to kill them, and the rest he drove away with insults. On this occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem; so they sent again a thousand envoys to Tyre, where Antony was now staying, intending to go to Jerusalem. To these envoys, who raised a clamour, he sent the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could arrest of them, and to confirm in the government those whom he had made tetrarchs.

§ 7. But before this Herod and Hyrcanus had gone to the seashore, and earnestly advised those envoys neither to bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native

[1] The N.W. portion of Asia Minor. Antiq. xiv. 12, § 2; Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.

[2] *Beit el-Mâ.* Antiq. xiv. 13, § 1; 15, § 11; xvii. 2, § 1; Jewish War, i. 17, § 3.

[3] Phasaelus and Herod.—W.

country, by their rash contentiousness. But as they showed still more discontent Antony sent out some of his armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them; of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus, and the wounded were put under the care of surgeons by him; yet would not those that had escaped be quiet still, but so disturbed the city, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had put in bonds also.

CHAP. XIII.

The Parthians bring Antigonus back to Judæa, and cast Hyrcanus and Phasaelus into Prison. The flight of Herod, and the taking of Jerusalem, and what Hyrcanus and Phasaelus suffered.

§ 1.

NOW two years afterwards, when Barzapharnes, the satrap of the Parthians, and Pacorus, the king's son, had seized upon Syria, and when Lysanias had already succeeded to the kingdom upon the death of his father, Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, he urged the satrap by a promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to restore Antigonus to his kingdom, and to depose Hyrcanus. Pacorus was by these offers induced so to do, and marched along the sea coast, and ordered Barzapharnes to invade Judæa in the interior of the country. But of the maritime people the Tyrians would not receive Pacorus, although those of Ptolemais [1] and Sidon [2] received him; so he committed a portion of his horse to a certain royal cupbearer of his own name, and gave him orders to march into Judæa, in order to reconnoiter the enemy, and to help Antigonus if he should want his assistance.

§ 2. Now as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews mustered to Antigonus, and showed themselves eager for battle. So he sent them on to a place called

[1] Jewish War, i. 2, § 1.

[2] *Saida.* Antiq. i. 6, § 2; ix. 14, § 2; xi. 4, § 1; 8, § 3; xiv. 10, §§ 2, 3, 6; 12, § 6; 13, § 3; xviii. 6, § 3; Jewish War, i. 21, § 11; ii. 18, § 5.

Drymus,[1] to occupy it; whereupon a battle ensued, and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem; and as their numbers increased, they went as far as the king's palace. But as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, a battle ensued in the market-place, in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the adjoining houses as a guard on them. But the people that were in revolt against the brothers[2] attacked and burnt those men. And Herod, in his rage against the people for killing them, attacked and slew many of them; so as each party sallied out daily in bands to attack one another, there was continual carnage on both sides.

§ 3. Now, when the festival which is called Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city, were full of a multitude of people, that had come out of the country, mostly armed. And Phasaelus guarded the walls, and Herod with a few men guarded the royal palace, and made a sally upon his enemies as they were in disorder on the north quarter of the city, and slew a very great number of them, and put them all to flight, and some of them he shut up within the temple, and others within the outer rampart. Meantime Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to mediate between them; and Phasaelus was prevailed upon to admit the Parthian into the city with five hundred horse, and to treat him in a hospitable manner, for he pretended that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality he came to assist Antigonus. And he laid a plot for Phasaelus, and persuaded him to go as ambassador to Barzapharnes, in order to put an end to the war, although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary, and advised Phasaelus to kill the plotter, and not to expose himself to the snares he had laid for him, for barbarians were naturally perfidious. But when Pacorus left Jerusalem he took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected; he also left some of the horse, called Freemen, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

[1] That is wood, or forest. Antiq. xiv. 13, § 3.
[2] Phasaelus and Herod.

§ 4. And when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, who came very cunningly to the satrap, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions by an obliging behaviour to them. Accordingly, he at first made them presents, and afterwards, as they went away, laid ambushes for them. And when they were come to one of the maritime cities called Ecdippon,[1] they perceived that a plot was laid for them; for they there heard of the promise of a thousand talents, and how Antigonus had devoted to the Parthians most of the five hundred women that were there with them. They also heard that an ambush was always laid for them by the barbarians in the night-time, and that they would have been seized long before this, had not the barbarians waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem, because if he were once informed of this treachery of theirs, he would be on his guard. Nor was this mere report, but they saw the guards already not far off them.

§ 5. However, Phasaelus could not think of forsaking Hyrcanus and fleeing away, although Ophellius earnestly urged him to do so (for he had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Saramalla, the richest at that time of all the Syrians), but he went up to the satrap, and reproached him to his face for laying this treacherous plot against them, especially as it was done for money; and he promised him, that he would give him more money for their preservation than Antigonus had promised to give for the kingdom. But the Parthian craftily endeavoured to remove all this suspicion by apologies and by oaths, and then withdrew to Pacorus; immediately after which those Parthians who were left seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, as they had been ordered to do, who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness and perjury.

§ 6. Meantime the cupbearer who had been sent[2] laid a plot how to seize upon Herod, by deluding him, and getting him out of the city, as he was commanded to do. But Herod suspected the barbarians from the beginning, an

[1] Achzib, *ez-Zib*. Antiq. v. 1, § 22; viii. 2, § 3.
[2] See § 1.

having now received intelligence that a messenger, who had had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was bringing him letters to inform him of the treachery intended, he would not go out of the city; though this cupbearer said very plausibly that he ought to go out, and meet the messengers that brought the letters, for the enemy had not taken them, and the contents of them were not accounts of any plot but of all that Phasaelus had done. But he had heard from others that his brother was seized, and Mariamne, Hyrcanus' daughter, shrewdest of women, came to him, and begged of him that he would not go out, nor trust himself to the barbarians who were now plainly come to make an attempt upon him.

§ 7. Now while Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately, because it was not possible to circumvent openly a man of so much sense, Herod got the start of them, and went off by night, unknown to his enemies, with the persons that were most nearly related to him. And as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued after them, and Herod ordered his mother and sister and the young woman who was betrothed to him, and her mother and youngest brother, to make the best of their way on, while he himself with his attendants took all the care they could to beat back the barbarians; and when, at every attack, he had slain a great many of them, he got safe to the fortress of Masada.[1]

§ 8. And he found that the Jews pressed more heavily upon him in his flight than the Parthians, harassing him perpetually, and at sixty furlongs from the city bringing on a sort of regular battle which lasted some time. And Herod beat them, and killed a great number of them, and afterwards built a fortress on the spot in memory of his success, and adorned it with a most costly palace, and erected a very strong citadel, and called it from his own name Herodium.[2] Now many fugitives joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Thresa[3] in Idumæa his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to get rid of

[1] *Sabbeh.* Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.
[2] *Jebel Fureidis.* Antiq. xiv. 13, § 9; xv. 9, § 4; Jewish War, i. 21, 10; iii. 3, § 5; vii. 6, § 1.
[3] Antiq. xiv. 13, § 9; 15, § 2; Jewish War, i. 15, § 4.

most of his followers; for Masada would not contain so great a number, for they were over nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice, and sent away the least useful portion of his force, that they might go into Idumæa,[1] and gave them provisions for their journey; but he got safe to the fortress of Masada with his nearest relations, and retained with him only the strongest of his followers; and he left there eight hundred of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient to last through a siege, and himself pushed on to Petra in Arabia.

§ 9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they betook themselves to plundering, and rushed into the houses of those that had fled, and into the king's palace, and spared nothing but Hyrcanus' money, which was not more than three hundred talents. What they found of other men's property also was not so much as they hoped for; for Herod, having had a long while suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idumæa, as all his relations had likewise done. But the Parthians proceeded after their plundering to that degree of outrage, as to fill all the country with implacable war, and to demolish the city of Marissa,[2] and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands to ill-treat. And Antigonus himself actually bit off Hyrcanus' ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him, that so he might never be able, upon any change of affairs, to take the high priesthood again, for high priests had to be entire and without blemish.

§ 10. But the courage of Phasaelus anticipated any action on the part of Antigonus in connection with him for though he had neither his sword nor the use of his hands, he dashed his head against a stone; and so showed himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation, and died with great bravery, and made his end agreeable to the actions of his life. There is also another report prevalent, that Phasaelus recovered of the

[1] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.
[2] *Kh. Mer'ash.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

injury done to his head, and that a surgeon, who was sent by Antigonus as if to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous drugs, and so killed him. But whichever of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it was glorious. It is also reported, that before he expired he was informed by a certain poor woman that Herod had escaped, and that he said, "I now die with comfort since I leave behind me one alive that will avenge me on mine enemies."

§ 11. So died Phasaelus. And the Parthians, although they had failed in getting the women, which was what they chiefly desired, yet put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus, and took away Hyrcanus in bonds to Parthia.

CHAP. XIV.

Herod is rejected in Arabia, and hastes to Rome, where Antony and Augustus unite in making him King of the Jews.

§ 1.

NOW Herod pursued his journey into Arabia with greater speed, as he was anxious to get money of the king, while his brother was yet alive, for he only hoped by money to prevail upon the cupidity of the barbarians to spare Phasaelus. For he reckoned, if the Arabian king was forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a gift, that he could at any rate borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed; for he took his brother's son with him, who was seven years old. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and put forward the Tyrians to intercede for him; however, fate was too quick for his zeal, and since Phasaelus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he did not find any lasting friendship among the Arabians; for their king, Malichus, sent to him immediately, and commanded him to leave his country, using the name of the Parthians as a pretext, as though they had bidden him expel

Herod out of Arabia, while in reality he had a mind to keep back what he owed to Antipater, and not be obliged to make returns to his sons for the gifts their father had bestowed on him. In this shameless conduct he followed the advice of those who like himself wished to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them; and these men were the most influential persons at his court.

§ 2. Now when Herod found that the Arabians were his enemies, and that for the very reasons which he hoped would have made them most friendly, he gave their messengers such an answer as his passion suggested, and set out for Egypt. And he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, to take up those whom he had left behind; and the next day word was brought him as he reached Rhinocurura,[1] that his brother was dead; and he indulged his natural grief, and proceeded on his journey, when he laid aside such sorrow. And now, somewhat late, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent messengers quickly to recall him whom he had treated so contemptuously. But Herod was too quick for them, and had reached Pelusium,[2] where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay at anchor there, so he had an interview with the governors of the place. And they, in respect to the fame and dignity of the man, conducted him to Alexandria. And when he came into the city he was received by Cleopatra with great splendour, for she hoped he would be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen's solicitations, and being neither afraid of it being midwinter, nor of the disturbances now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

§ 3. But he was in peril near Pamphylia,[3] and obliged to throw overboard most of the ship's cargo, and with difficulty got safe to Rhodes,[4] a place which had been very much injured in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappinius, and, although

[1] *el-'Arish.* Antiq. xiii. 15, § 4; xiv. 14, § 2; Jewish War, iv. 11, § 5.
[2] *Tineh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.
[3] On the south coast of Asia Minor. Antiq. ii. 16, § 5; xi. 8, § 1; xiv. 14, § 3.
[4] Antiq. xiv. 14, § 3.

he was then in want of money, he built a very large trireme, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundusium,[1] and went thence to Rome with all speed, where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had had with him, and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family, and told him how he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him in winter as a suppliant.

§ 4. And Antony was moved to compassion at the reverse in Herod's affairs, partly from his calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, but more especially on account of Herod's own virtue; so he resolved now to get him, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch, made king of the Jews. The hatred also that he had for Antigonus was an inducement of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod; for he looked upon Antigonus as a factious person, and as an enemy of the Romans. As for Augustus, Herod found him even more ready than Antony, remembering the campaigns he had gone through with Antipater his father, and the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire good-will he had shown him, besides the activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together, and Messala, and after him Atratinus, introduced Herod, and gave full account of the good services of his father, and his own good-will to the Romans. At the same time they showed that Antigonus was their enemy, not only because he had soon quarrelled with them, but because he now neglected the Romans, and got his kingdom through the Parthians. These arguments greatly moved the senate, and at this juncture Antony came in and told them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king, and they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate broke up, Antony and Augustus went out with Herod between them; and the consuls and the rest of the magistrates went before them to offer sacrifices, and to lay the decree in the Capitol. Antony also feasted Herod on this first day of his reign.

[1] *Brindisi.* Antiq. xiv. 14, § 3.

CHAP. XV.

Antigonus besieges those in Masada, whom Herod relieves on his return from Rome, and at once marches to Jerusalem, where he finds Silo corrupted by Bribes.

§ 1.

NOW during this time Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada,[1] who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were short of water. And so Herod's brother Joseph was disposed to flee to the Arabians with two hundred of his men, because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offences with regard to Herod. And he would have straightway left the fortress, had there not fallen a great deal of rain on that very night when he was going away, so that his reservoirs were full of water, and he was no longer under any necessity of flight; but he and his men made a sally upon Antigonus' troops, and slew a great many of them, some in open battle, and some in ambush. However, they had not always success, for sometimes they were beaten and had to retreat.

§ 2. In the meantime Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent from Syria to restrain the Parthians, and went after them into Judæa, on the pretext indeed of assisting Joseph and his party, but in reality to extort money from Antigonus. So when he had pitched his camp very near Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with most of his forces; but he left Silo with some of them, lest if he had taken them all away, his extortion would have been too evident. But Antigonus hoped that the Parthians would again come to his assistance, and meantime paid court to Silo, that he might not be baffled in his hopes.

§ 3. Now by this time Herod had sailed back from Italy, and had arrived at Ptolemais,[2] and as soon as he had got together no small army of foreigners and of his own

[1] *Sebbeh.* Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.
[2] *'Akka*, St. Jean d'Acre.

countrymen, he marched through Galilee against Antigonus, and was assisted by Ventidius and Silo, both of whom Dellius, who had been sent by Antony, urged to restore Herod. Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, composing the disturbances which had been caused by the Parthians, but Silo was in Judæa, corrupted by the money of Antigonus. And Herod himself was not destitute of strength, for the number of his forces increased every day as he went along, and all Galilee with few exceptions joined him. The most necessary enterprise that lay before him was the relief of Masada, and to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But Joppa[1] stood in his way, for it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemies' hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortress might be left in the enemies' power in his rear. And Silo willingly joined him, having now a pretext for moving his army. And when the Jews pursued him and pressed upon him, Herod sallied out against them with a small body of his men, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo who had made a very poor defence.

§ 4. Herod next took Joppa, and then made haste to Masada to set free his relations. Now many of the people of the country joined him, some induced by their friendship to his father, some by the reputation he had already gained himself, and some in order to repay the benefits they had received from both his father and him, but most from the hopes they placed in him, as a king firmly established on the throne. So that he soon got together a powerful army. And Antigonus laid ambushes for him as he marched on, placing men in convenient positions, but did little or no harm to his enemies. And Herod easily rescued his relations that were in Masada, and captured the fortress of Resa,[2] and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to him, as did many in the city who stood in awe of his power.

§ 5. Now when he had pitched his camp on the west

[1] *Jaffa.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.
[2] Thresa in Antiq. xiv. 15, § 2; Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

slope of the city, the guards that were there shot their arrows, and threw their darts at his men, while others sallied out in companies, and attacked his vanguard. But Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the walls, that he was come for the good of the people and the preservation of the city, without any design to be revenged on his open enemies, but to grant amnesty to them, though they had been most hostile to him. Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear Herod's proclamation, nor to change their party; so Antigonus gave order to his forces to repel the enemy from the walls; so they soon put them to flight with their darts from the towers.

§ 6. And now Silo showed he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessaries, and to ask for their pay to buy themselves food, and to demand that they should be led into convenient places for their winter quarters (for the parts about the city were destitute, as Antigonus' soldiers had stripped them of every thing), and he even shifted his camp, and attempted to get off the siege. But Herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and to the soldiers *en masse*, and begged of them not to leave him who was sent there by Augustus and Antony and the senate; for he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After this entreaty he went at once into the country, and brought them from thence so great an abundance of necessaries, that he cut off all Silo's pretexts. And in order to provide for the following days that they should not want supplies, he ordered the people of Samaria[1] (for that city had joined itself to him) to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle to Jericho.[2] When Antigonus heard of this, he sent some of his party to scour the country, with orders to lie in ambush for and intercept these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed, and a great multitude of armed men gathered together near Jericho, and lay among the mountains, on the look out for those that brought the provisions. But Herod was not idle, but took with him ten

[1] *Sebustieh.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.
[2] *er-Riha.* Antiq. v. 1, §§ 4-9; ix. 12, § 2; xiv. 5, § 4; xv. 4, § Jewish War, i. 6, § 6; i. 8, § 5; ii. 20, § 4; iv. 8, § 2; 9, § 1.

cohorts, five of them Roman and five Jewish, with some mercenary troops intermixed among them, and also a few horse, and marched to Jericho. And when he arrived there he found the city deserted, but five hundred men, with their wives and children, occupied the heights; these he took and dismissed. And the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it, finding the houses full of all sorts of treasures. And Herod left a garrison at Jericho, and returned, and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in Idumæa[1] and Galilee and Samaria, which had come over to him. Antigonus also, to pay court to Antony, bribed Silo to receive part of his army into Lydda.[2]

CHAP. XVI.

Herod takes Sepphoris, and subdues the Robbers that were in the Caves; after which he joins Antony, who was besieging Samosata.

§ 1.

SO the Romans lived in plenty, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie idle, but occupied Idumæa with two thousand foot and four hundred horse, sending his brother Joseph there, lest any diversion might be attempted in that quarter by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations who had been in Masada,[3] to Samaria,[4] and when he had settled them there securely, he set out to subdue the rest of Galilee, and to expel the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.

§ 2. And when he had reached Sepphoris[5] in a very great snow-storm, he took the city without any difficulty, the guards that should have defended it fleeing away before it was assaulted. And there he gave an opportunity to his followers that had suffered from the wintry weather to refresh themselves, there being in that city a great abun-

[1] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.
[2] *Diospolis, Ludd.* Antiq. xiv. 10, § 6; 11, § 2; 15, § 3; xv. 5, § 1; x. 6, § 2. Jewish War, i. 19, § 2; ii. 12, § 6; iii. 3, § 5; iv. 8, § 1.
[3] *Sebbeh.* [4] *Sebustieh.*
[5] *Sefûrieh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

dance of supplies; after which he set out against the robbers that were in the caves, who scoured a great part of the country, and did as much mischief to its inhabitants as a war would have done. And he sent on three cohorts of foot and one troop of horse to the village of Arbela,[1] and followed himself forty days afterwards with the rest of his force. But the enemy were not affrighted at his approach, but met him in arms, for their skill was that of warriors, and their boldness was that of robbers. When, therefore, it came to a pitched battle, they routed Herod's left wing with their right; but Herod, wheeling about quickly from his own right wing, came to the assistance of his left wing and rallied it, and also fell upon its pursuers, and checked their impetuosity, till they could not bear the hand to hand attack made on them, but fled themselves.

§ 3. And Herod pursued them to the Jordan, slaying them, and cut to pieces a great part of them, and those that remained dispersed on the other side of the river, and Galilee was freed from the terror it had been in, excepting from those that remained, who lay concealed in the caves, and required some time to capture. So Herod first distributed the fruits of their labours among the soldiers, and gave every one of them a hundred and fifty drachmæ of silver, and a great deal more to their commanders, and sent them into winter quarters. He also bade Pheroras, his youngest brother, to see that they had a plentiful supply of provisions, and to fortify Alexandrium.[2] And he saw to both of these injunctions.

§ 4. Meantime Antony abode at Athens, and Ventidius summoned Silo and Herod to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle affairs in Judæa. And Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius, but he made an expedition himself against the robbers that lay in the caves. Now these caves[3] were in precipitous mountains, and could not be got at from any side, for they had only some very narrow winding pathways by which access lay to them, and the rock that lay on their front had beneath it ravines of a vast

[1] *Irbid.* Life, § 37; Antiq. xii. 11, § 1; xiv. 15, § 4.
[2] *Kefr Istuna.* Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.
[3] The caves are in the *Wády Hammâm.* Antiq. xiv. 15, § 5.

depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity; so that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, because of the great difficulty of attacking the place. But at last he made use of a most dangerous contrivance, for he let down the boldest of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the caves; and they slew the robbers and their families, and when they made resistance threw fire at them. But as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he invited them by a herald to come and deliver themselves up to to him; but not one of them came willingly to him, and of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. At this stage of affairs a certain old man, the father of seven sons, who (as also their mother) desired him to permit them to go out upon the assurance that was offered them, slew them in the following manner: he ordered every one of them to go out, but stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew each son as he went out. Herod saw this sight from the heights, and his bowels of compassion were moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his sons. But he did not relent at all at what he said, but even twitted Herod with the lowness of his origin, and slew his wife as well as his sons, and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he last of all threw himself down after them.

§ 5. In this way Herod subdued these caves, and the robbers that were in them. He then left as large a part of his army as he thought sufficient to prevent any risings, and made Ptolemy their general, and himself returned to Samaria, and led three thousand foot and six hundred horse against Antigonus. Upon this those that used to raise tumults in Galilee, feeling free to do so upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy the general, and slew him, and also laid the country waste, and then retired to the marshes and to places not easy of access. But when Herod was informed of this rising, he came to the rescue immediately, and slew a great number of the rebels, and raised the sieges of all the fortresses they had besieged, and also exacted a hundred talents from his enemies as a penalty for their rising.

§ 6. The Parthians being by this time already driven

out of the country, and Pacorus slain, Ventidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand horse and two legions to help Herod against Antigonus. Now Antigonus besought their general Machæras by letters to come to his assistance, and made a great many complaints about Herod's violence, and about the injuries he did to the the kingdom, and promised to give him money. But he complied not with his invitation to betray his trust (for he did not despise him that sent him, especially as Herod gave him more money), but pretended friendship to Antigonus, though he really came as a spy to discover his affairs, in this however not listening to Herod, who tried to dissuade him from so doing. But Antigonus perceived what his intentions were beforehand, and shut him out of the city, and repelled him as an enemy from the walls, till Machæras was ashamed and went to Emmaus[1] to Herod, and, as he was in a rage at his disappointment, slew all the Jews whom he met with, not sparing those that were of Herod's party even, but treating them all as if they were Antigonus' friends.

§ 7. Thereupon Herod was very angry, and was going to fight against Machæras as an enemy; but he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antony to accuse Machæras of ill behaviour. But he, thinking over his offences, followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained reconciliation with him. However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony; and when he heard that he was besieging Samosata,[2] a strong city near the Euphrates, with a large army, he made the greater haste, seeing that the opportunity was a good one for showing at once his courage, and for greatly obliging Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon put an end to the siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them much booty, so that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, admired it now still more, and heaped many more honours upon him, and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom: while king Antiochus was forced to surrender Samosata.

[1] Emmaus-Nicopolis, *'Amwâs*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

[2] *Samsât*, the capital of Commagene, on the Euphrates. Antiq. xv. 15, § 8; Jewish War, vii. 7, § 1.

CHAP. XVII.

The Death of Joseph, Herod's Brother, which had been signified to Herod in Dreams. How Herod was preserved twice in a wonderful Manner. He cuts off the Head of Pappus, who was the Murderer of his Brother, and sends it to Pheroras. And no long Time after he besieges Jerusalem, and marries Mariamne.

§ 1.

IN the mean time, Herod's affairs in Judæa were in a bad condition. He had left his brother Joseph armed with full powers, but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus till his return; for he said Machæras would not be an ally he could depend on, as was plain from his previous behaviour. But as soon as Joseph heard that his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the orders he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts, which Machæras had sent him. His intention was to seize the corn, as it was now in the height of summer; but as his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in difficult places, he was not only killed himself, fighting very bravely in the battle, but the entire Roman force was cut to pieces. For these cohorts were men just enlisted in Syria, and there was no mixture of those soldiers called veterans among them, who might have rallied these raw recruits.

§ 2. This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus, but he proceeded to that degree of rage, as to ill treat the dead body of Joseph; for when he had got possession of the bodies of those that were slain, he cut off his head, although his brother Pheroras would have given fifty talents as a ransom for it. And now the affairs of Galilee were thrown into such disorder after this victory of Antigonus, that those of Antigonus' party took the principal men that were on Herod's side to the lake, and there drowned them. There were also many changes made in Idumæa, where Machæras rebuilt one of the fortresses, which was called

Gittha.[1] But Herod had not yet heard of these things. For after the capture of Samosata, Antony himself departed to Egypt, when he had set Sossius over Syria, and given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, and Sossius sent two legions before him into Judæa to assist Herod, and himself followed soon after with the rest of his army.

§ 3. Now when Herod was at Daphne[2] near Antioch, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death, and as he leaped out of bed in a troubled manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. And when he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning, and hurried on against his enemies. And pushing on by forced marches and reaching Mount Libanus,[3] he got eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain to help him, and joined with them one Roman legion. With this force, before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and drove the enemy who met him back to the place which they had left. He also made an energetic attack upon the fortress, but before he could take it, he was forced by a most terrible storm to pitch his camp in the neighbouring villages. But when, after a few days, the second legion that came from Antony joined him, the enemy were frightened at his power, and left their fortress in the night-time.

§ 4. After this he marched through Jericho, making what haste he could to be avenged on his brother's murderers. And there happened to him there a wonderful event, and as he unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being a man very dear to God. For that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men, and after that feast was over, and all the guests were gone, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a sign both that he should undergo dangers and escape them in the coming war, he set forward in the morning with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to

[1] Perhaps Gath, Tell es-Sâfi, and not the northern Gittha of Antiq. xiv. 15, § 10.

[2] *Beit el-Mâ.* Jewish War, i. 12, § 5.

[3] Mount Lebanon.

fight with those in his van, but they dared not engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them from a distance, by which they wounded a considerable number. Even Herod himself as he rode by was wounded in the side by a dart.

§ 5. Now as Antigonus wished to appear to exceed Herod, not only in the courage but also in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria. Now it was their fortune to have to contend with Machæras. But Herod overran the enemies' country, and demolished five little cities, and destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses, and then returned to his camp; and his head-quarters were at the village called Cana.[1]

§ 6. Now a great multitude of Jews flocked to him every day, both from Jericho itself, and from the other parts of the country, some out of hatred to Antigonus, others out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done, but most induced by an unreasonable desire for change. And he pushed on to attack the enemy, and Pappus and his men were not terrified either at his numbers or zeal, but marched out boldly against him. And when it came to a close fight, the other parts of their army made resistance for a while, but Herod running the utmost hazard from the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those men that were opposite to him, and, after he had beaten them, still turned his attention to those that made a stand, and put them all to flight. And a great slaughter was made as they were forced back into the village which they had come out from, as he pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew immense numbers of them. He also entered the village with the enemy, and every house was full of armed men, and the roofs were crowded with soldiers for their defence. And when he had beaten those that were outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and dragged out those that were within; and upon many he brought down the roofs, and killed them *en*

[1] Apparently the same place as the Cana of Antiq. xiii. 15, § 1. mpare Antiq. xiv. 15, § 12, where Pappus is said to have been mped at Isana.

masse, while the soldiers received those few that fled from the ruins with their swords in their hands, and so great a multitude of slain lay in heaps, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, so when the multitude of them that had gathered together saw that those in the village were slain, they dispersed and fled. On the strength of this victory Herod would have marched immediately to Jerusalem, had he not been hindered by the severity of the winter. This impediment lay in the way of his complete success, and hindered Antigonus from being conquered, who was already disposed to leave the city.

§ 7. Now in the evening, when Herod had already dismissed his friends to refresh themselves after their fatigue, he had gone himself, while he was still hot from his armour, to bathe like a common soldier, with but one lad that attended him. And before he entered the bath, one of the enemy ran out just opposite to him with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and then a third, and after that several. They were men who had run away from the battle in their armour to the bath, and had lain there for some time in great terror, and hidden, and when they saw the king, they trembled for fear, and ran by him in a fright although he was unarmed, and made for the outlets of the bath. Now there was by chance nobody else at hand to seize these men, and as for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself, so they all got away in safety.

§ 8. But the next day Herod cut off the head of Pappus, who was the general of Antigonus, and had been slain in the battle, and sent it to his brother Pheroras, in vengeance for the murder of their brother, for he was the man that had slain Joseph. And now as the winter was abating, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the walls of it, in the third year after he was made king at Rome, and encamped before the temple, for on that side only was it assailable, and it was there that Pompey had taken the city before. And he divided the work among the army, and cut down trees in the suburbs, and raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks, and left the most energetic of his comrades at the works, but himself went to Samaria, to take to wi[illegible]

Mariamne the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who had been betrothed to him before, as I have already said. And he did this by the by during the siege of the city, for he held his enemy in great contempt already.

§ 9. When he had married Mariamne, he returned to Jerusalem with a larger army; Sossius also joined him with a large army both of horse and foot, which he had sent on before through the interior of the country, while he himself marched through Phœnice. And when the whole army was got together, which were eleven regiments of foot, and six thousand horse, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, who were no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near the north wall; Herod relying upon the decree of the senate, by which he had been declared king, and Sossius relying upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

CHAP. XVIII.

How Herod and Sossius took Jerusalem by storm, and what Death Antigonus came to. Also concerning Cleopatra's avaricious Temper.

§ 1.

NOW the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were troubled in various ways. For the weaker people crowded about the temple and gave out, that, as the times were, he was the happiest and most fortunate man who died. But as to the bolder men, they got together in bodies, and fell to robbing others in various manners, and particularly plundered places about the city, and that because there was no food left for either horses or men. But those of the men of war who were best disciplined were appointed to defend the city during the siege, and they kept away from the walls those that raised the banks, and were always inventing some contrivance or other to be a hindrance to the engines of the enemy. But they had not much success any way over the enemy as in the under-mind mines.

2. Now, as for the robberies which were committed,

the king contrived that ambushes should be laid, by which he checked the robbers' excursions; and as for the want of provisions, he provided that they should be brought from a great distance. He was also too hard for the Jews by the Romans' skill in the art of war; for although the Jews were bold to the utmost degree, yet they durst not fight hand to hand with the Romans, for that was certain death, but through their underground mines they would appear in the midst of them on a sudden, and before they could batter down one part of the wall, they raised another in its stead; in short, they did not show any slackness either of valour or contrivances, being resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army investing them, they bore a siege of five months, till some of Herod's picked men ventured to get upon the wall and enter the city, and Sossius' centurions after them. And first they occupied the neighbourhood of the temple, and upon the pouring in of the army there was immense slaughter every where, because of the rage the Romans were in at the length of the siege, and because the Jewish force with Herod was anxious that none of their adversaries should be left. So they were cut to pieces *en masse*, as they were crowded together in the narrow streets and in houses, or were fleeing to the temple; nor was any mercy shown either to infants, or to the aged, or to the weakness of women; but although the king sent round and desired them to spare the people, nobody could be persuaded to withhold his right hand from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former or present fortune, came down from the citadel, and fell down at Sossius' feet. But he, without pitying him at all upon this change in his fortunes, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him Antigona.[1] Yet did he not let him go free like a woman, but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

§ 3. But Herod's concern at present, now he had got his enemies in his power, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries; for these foreigners were very eager to s

[1] That is, a woman, not a man.—W.

the temple, and the sacred things in the sanctuary. But the king endeavoured to restrain them, partly by exhortation, partly by threats, partly even by force, thinking victory worse than a defeat, if anything that ought not to be seen were seen by them. He also forbade at the same time spoiling the city, asking Sossius in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans, by emptying the city of money and men, had a mind to leave him king of a desert? and saying that he judged the dominion of the world too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens. And when Sossius said that it was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder, as a reward for what they suffered during the siege, Herod answered, that he would himself give every one of the soldiers a reward out of his own money. So he redeemed the rest of Jerusalem, and performed his promises, making presents in a magnificent manner to each soldier, and proportionably to their commanders, and a most royal bounty to Sossius himself, so that nobody departed short of money. And Sossius dedicated a crown of gold to God, and then went away from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony; and the axe, which his cowardly behaviour well deserved, brought him to his end, though he still had a fond desire of life, and some frigid hopes of it to the very last.

§ 4. And king Herod distinguished between the people in the city, for as for those that were on his side he made them still more his friends by the honours he conferred on them, but those of Antigonus' party he slew, and as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony and his followers. But he could not thereby purchase an exemption from all suffering; for Antony was already madly in love with Cleopatra, and entirely a slave to his passion. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near her in blood remained alive, and after that she fell to slaying those who were no way related to her; and she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and urged him to have them slain, that so she might easily become mistress of what they had. Moreover she extended her greed to the Jews and Arabians, and intrigued to have Herod and Malichus, the kings of both those nations, taken off.

§ 5. Now Antony complied in part with these injunctions of hers, for though he esteemed it abominable to kill such good and great kings, yet was he alienated from his friendship (which was the next thing) with them. So he took away a great deal of their country, even the palm-trees at Jericho, where the balsam-tree also grows, and gave them her, as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus,[1] except Tyre[2] and Sidon.[3] And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Parthians as far as the Euphrates, she went into Judæa by Apamea[4] and Damascus. Then did Herod appease her ill-will to him by large presents, and also hired from her those places that had been torn away from his kingdom at the yearly rent of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium,[5] and paid her all the court possible. And not long after this Antony came back from Parthia,[6] and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes' son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; for this Parthian was at once given her, with the money and all the spoil that was taken.

CHAP. XIX.

How Antony, at the Instigation of Cleopatra, sent Herod to fight against the Arabians; and how, after several Battles, he at length got the Victory. Also concerning a great Earthquake.

§ 1.

NOW when the war about Actium[7] broke out, Herod had intended to set out to the assistance of Antony, being already freed from his other troubles in Judæa, and

[1] *Nahr el-Kebîr*, N. of Tripolis. Antiq. xiii. 4, § 5; 5, § 10; xv. 4. § 1.

[2] *Sûr*. Life, § 10, 74. Antiq. ix. 14, § 2; xi. 8, §§ 3, 4; xiv. 12, §§ 1, 3; xiv. 13, § 3. Jewish War, i. 13, § 1; i. 21, § 11; ii. 18, § 5. Against Apion, i. §§ 18, 21.

[3] *Saida*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 1.

[4] Jewish War, i. 10, § 10.

[5] Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.

[6] The Parthian kingdom in its greatest extent reached westward[s] the Euphrates.

[7] At the entrance of the gulf of *Arta*. Antiq. xv. 5, § 1; J[ewish] War, i. 20, § 1.

having gained Hyrcania,[1] which fortress had been held by Antigonus' sister. However, he was cunningly hindered by Cleopatra from sharing in the dangers of Antony, for since, as I have already remarked, she had plotted against the kings of Judæa and Arabia, she urged Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod, that so, if he won the day, she might become mistress of Arabia, or, if he were worsted, of Judæa, and that she might put down one of those kings by the other.

§ 2. However, this contrivance turned out to the advantage of Herod. For at the very first he plundered the enemy, and got together a large body of horse, and hurled them against the enemy near Diospolis,[2] and conquered the enemy, though they fought stoutly. At this defeat the Arabians were in great excitement, and mustered together at Canatha,[3] a city of Cœle-Syria,[4] in vast multitudes, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod arrived there with his army, he tried to manage the war with particular prudence, and gave orders to fortify the camp. But the multitude did not hearken to him, but were so emboldened by their previous victory, that they attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and pursued them. But snares were laid for Herod in the pursuit, for Athenio, who was one of Cleopatra's generals, and always antagonistic to Herod, sent out of Canatha the men of that country against him, and upon their attack the Arabians took courage, and rallied, and joined their forces together on stony and difficult ground, and routed Herod's men, and made a great slaughter of them. And those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza,[5] where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it with all the men in it.

§ 3. Not long after this calamity, Herod came to bring succour, but he came too late. Now the cause of this re-

[1] Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.
[2] Lydda, *Ludd*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.
[3] Kenath, *Kanawât*, at the foot of the western slopes of *Jebel Hauran*. In Antiq. xv. 5, § 1, and possibly in Life, § 71, it is called Cana.
[4] Cœle-Syria in this instance includes Bashan. Jewish War, i. 4,
[5] Unknown. In the parallel passage, Antiq. xv. 5, § 1, the name of place is not mentioned.

verse was that the officers would not obey orders; for had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athenio would not have had an opportunity for the snares he laid for Herod. However, Herod was even with the Arabians afterwards, and overran their country, and did them frequently more harm than their single victory could compensate. And as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for in the seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at its height, in the beginning of spring, there was an earthquake, which destroyed an immense number of cattle, and thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the meantime, the rumour of this earthquake elated the Arabians to greater courage, for report exaggerated it, as is generally the case in gloomy events, as if all Judæa was overthrown. Supposing, therefore, that they should easily make themselves masters of a land that was destitute of inhabitants, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who had come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judæa immediately. Now the Jewish nation were dismayed at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; but Herod assembled them together, and endeavoured to encourage them to defend themselves by the following speech.

§ 4. "The present dread you are in seems to me to have seized upon you very unreasonably. It is true, you might justly be dismayed at the providential chastisement which has befallen you; but to suffer yourselves to be terrified at the invasion of men is unmanly. As for myself, I am so far from being dismayed at our enemies after the earthquake, that I imagine that God has thereby laid a bait for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them, for their present invasion proceeds more from our accidental misfortunes, than from their great dependence on their own weapons or fitness for action; but the hope which depends not on men's own power, but on others' ill success, is a very ticklish thing. For there is no certainty among men, either in their bad or good fortunes, but we may see that fortune is changeable, and goes from one side to another. You may indeed learn this from your own cas[illegible] for though you were victors in the former fight, y[illegible]

enemies overcame you at last; and it will very likely happen now that these who think themselves sure of beating you will themselves be beaten. For when people are very confident, they are not upon their guard, but fear teaches people to act with caution; insomuch that I feel confidence from your very fear. For when you were more bold than you ought to have been against the enemy, and contrary to my wish attacked the enemy, Athenio's treachery had its opportunity; but now your hesitation and seeming dejection of mind is to me a pledge and assurance of victory. And indeed it is proper to be thus cautious beforehand, but when we come to action, we ought to pluck up our spirit, and to make our enemies believe, be they ever so wicked, that neither any human, no, nor any providential misfortune, can ever depress the courage of Jews while they are alive; nor will any of them ever suffer an Arabian, whom he has all but often taken captive, to become lord of his good things. And do not disturb yourselves at the movements of inanimate things, nor imagine that this earthquake is a sign of another calamity; for such conditions of the elements are according to the course of nature, nor do they import any thing further to men than the actual mischief they bring with them. Perhaps there may come some sign a little beforehand in the case of pestilence and famine and earthquakes; but these calamities themselves have their force limited. Indeed what greater mischief can the war do to us, though it should go against us, than the earthquake has done? Nay, there is a very great sign of our enemies' destruction visible, and that not a natural one, nor coming from a strange hand, in that they have barbarously murdered our ambassadors contrary to the usage of all mankind, and have decked them with garlands as sacrifices to God in relation to this war. But they will not escape his great eye, nor his invincible right hand; and we shall soon be revenged on them, if we still retain any of the spirit of our forefathers, and rise up boldly to punish these covenant-breakers. Let every one therefore go forward to fight, not so much for his wife or his children, or for the danger his country is in, but for these ambassadors of ours; for they will conduct this war of ours better than we ourselves who are alive. And if you

will hearken to me, I will myself go before you into danger; for you know well enough that your courage is irresistible, unless you hurt yourselves by acting rashly."[1]

§ 5. When Herod had encouraged his army by this speech, and saw how ready they were, he offered sacrifice to God, and after the sacrifice crossed over the river Jordan with his troops, and pitched his camp near Philadelphia,[2] not far from the enemy, and had a skirmish with them for a fortification that lay between them, as he was desirous to bring on a general engagement quickly; for some of the enemy had been sent forward to seize upon that fortification. But the king sent some troops, who immediately beat them out of the fortification, and occupied the hill, while he himself led out his men every day, and put them in battle array, and challenged the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp (for they were in a terrible fright, and their general, Elthemus, was not able to say a word for fear), Herod went up to them, and pulled their intrenched camp to pieces, so that they were compelled to come out and fight, which they did in disorder, and so that their horse and foot were mixed up together. They were indeed superior to the Jews in number, but inferior as to zeal, although they too were very venturesome from their despair of victory.

§ 6. And so, while they resisted, they had not a great number slain; but as soon as they turned their backs, many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and many by their own men, and so perished. And five thousand fell in the flight, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death, by crowding into their intrenched camp. Herod surrounded and besieged these, and as they were bound to be taken by their enemies with their arms, they had an additional distress, which was thirst from want of water. For the king received their ambassadors in a supercilious way, and though they offered five hundred talents as ransom, he pressed still harder upon them.

[1] This speech of Herod's is set down twice by Josephus, here and Antiq. xv. 5, § 3, to the same purpose, but not in the same words, whence it appears, that the sense was Herod's, but the composition Josephus's.—W.

[2] Jewish War, i. 2, § 4.

And as they were parched with thirst, they came out *en masse*, and voluntarily delivered themselves up to the Jews, till in five days four thousand of them were prisoners; and on the sixth day the multitude that were left were desperate, and came out to fight. And Herod fought with them, and slew again about seven thousand. And he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

CHAP. XX.

Herod is confirmed in his Kingdom by Augustus, and cultivates a Friendship with the Emperor by magnificent Presents; while Augustus returns his Kindness by bestowing on him that Part of his Kingdom which had been taken away by Cleopatra, with the Addition of Zenodorus' Country also.

§ 1.

AND now Herod was in immediate concern about his whole fortunes on account of his friendship with Antony, who had just been defeated off Actium[1] by Augustus. But he was more afraid than hurt. For Augustus did not think he had quite undone Antony while Herod remained. But the king resolved to face his danger: so he sailed to Rhodes,[2] where Augustus then abode, and came to him without his diadem, and in the dress and guise of a private person, but with the spirit of a king. And he concealed nothing of the truth, but spoke straight out as follows. "O Cæsar, I was made king of the Jews by Antony, and I confess that I have used my royal authority entirely for his advantage; nor will I conceal this further, that you would certainly have found me in arms, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many ten thousand cors of corn; nor indeed did I desert my benefactor after his reverse at Actium. But I gave him the best advice I was able, when I was no longer able to assist him in the

[1] Jewish War, i. 19, § 1. [2] Jewish War, i. 14, § 3.

war; for I told him that there was but one way of retrieving his affairs, and that was to kill Cleopatra; and I promised him, that if he put her to death, I would afford him money and walls for his security, and an army and myself to assist him in the war against you. But his passion for Cleopatra stopped his ears, as did God himself also, who has bestowed the victory on you. And I am overcome with Antony, and with the same fortune as his I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to you, putting my hopes of safety in your virtue, and I presume you will consider how faithful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been."

§ 2. Augustus replied to him as follows: "Continue in safety, and reign now more firmly than before; for you are worthy to rule over a great many subjects, because of the firmness of your friendship. And do you endeavour to be equally constant in your friendship to me in[1] happier circumstances, for I have the brightest hopes from your lofty spirit. However, Antony did well in listening to Cleopatra rather than to you; for I have gained you by her folly. It also appears that you were my friend before I began to be yours, for Quintus Didius has written to me that you sent him assistance against the gladiators. Now therefore I confirm the kingdom to you by decree: but I shall also endeavour to do you some further kindness hereafter, that you may not miss Antony."

§ 3. When Augustus had spoken thus kindly to Herod, and put the diadem on his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree, in which he greatly launched out in his commendation. And Herod still further appeased him by the presents he gave him, and begged him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who supplicated his favour. But Augustus' anger was too great against Alexander for this, and he complained of the many and very great offences the man whom Herod petitioned for had been guilty of, and so he rejected his request. After this, when Augustus went to Egypt through Syria, Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments; and then first rode side by side with Augustus, when he reviewed his

[1] For καΐ I confidently restore κάν.

army at Ptolemais,[1] and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to feast them also. He also contrived a plentiful provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium [2] through a dry country, and did so also on their return thence; nor were there any necessaries wanting to the army. It was therefore the opinion, both of Augustus and his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them; for which reason, when Augustus had returned to Egypt, as Cleopatra and Antony were now dead, he not only bestowed other honours upon him, but also made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him, not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but also Gadara [3] and Hippos [4] and Samaria,[5] and in addition to these the maritime cities of Gaza [6] and Anthedon [7] and Joppa [8] and Strato's Tower.[9] He also made him a present of four hundred Galati for his body-guard, as they had been to Cleopatra before. Nor did anything so strongly induce Augustus to make these presents as the generosity of him that received them.

§ 4. Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added to his kingdom both the region called Trachonitis,[10] and the adjacent Batanæa,[11] and the district of Auranitis,[12] for the following reason. Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lysanias, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascenes. And they had recourse to Varro the governor of Syria, and begged of him that he would represent their calamity to Augustus; and when Augustus was acquainted with it, he sent back orders that this nest of

[1] *'Akka.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 1.
[2] *et-Tîneh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.
[3] *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[4] *Sûsiyeh.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7. [5] *Sebustieh.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.
[6] *Ghuzzeh.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[7] Agrippias. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2. [8] *Jaffa.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.
[9] Cæsarea Palæstina. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.
[10] *el-Lejah.* Antiq. xv. 10, § 1; xvi. 4, § 6; 9, §§ 1, 3; xvii. 2, § 1; 8, § 1. Jewish War, ii. 6, § 3.
[11] Life, § 11. Antiq. xv. 10, § 1; xvii. 8, § 1 (Paneas for Batanæa). Jewish War, ii. 6, § 3.
[12] The *Haurân.* Antiq. xv. 10, § 1; xvii. 11, § 4. Jewish War, ii. 6, 3.

robbers should be destroyed. Varro therefore made an expedition against them, and cleared the land of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus, and Augustus afterwards bestowed it on Herod, that it might not again become a *point d'appui* for those robbers against Damascus. He also made him procurator of all Syria the tenth year afterwards, when he came again into that province, on such a footing that the other procurators could not do anything without his advice. And when Zenodorus was dead, Augustus bestowed on Herod all the land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee. And what was of still more consequence to Herod, he was beloved by Augustus next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Augustus. So he arrived at a very great degree of felicity, and his spirit was elated to greater ideas, and most of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion of piety.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Temple and Cities that were built by Herod, and erected from the very Foundations; also of the other Edifices that were erected by him; and what magnificence he showed to Foreigners; and how Fortune was in all things favourable to him.

§ 1.

ACCORDINGLY in the fifteenth year of his reign Herod rebuilt the temple, and surrounded with a wall double the land that was before enclosed around it, at vast expense and with insurpassable magnificence. A sign of which you have in the great porticoes erected about the temple, and the citadel on its north side.[1] The porticoes he built from the foundation, but the citadel he repaired at a vast expense, as if it were no less than a royal palace, and

[1] This fort was first built, as is supposed, by John Hyrcanus, and called Baris, the tower or citadel. It was afterwards rebuilt, with great improvements, by Herod, under the government of Antony, and was named from him the Tower of Antonia; and about the time when Herod rebuilt the temple, he seems to have put his last hand to it. See Antiq. xviii. 5, § 4; Jewish War, i. 3, § 4. It lay on the north-west side of the temple, and was a quarter as large.—W.

called it Antonia[1] in honour of Antony. He also built himself a palace[2] in the upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments, to which the temple itself could not be compared. One he called Cæsareum, and the other Agrippeum, after his friends Cæsar Augustus and Agrippa.

§ 2. But he did not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, and the names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities. For when he had built a most beautiful wall twenty furlongs long round a town in the district of Samaria, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to them most fruitful land, and in the midst of this city had erected a very large temple to Augustus, and had laid round about it a sacred enclosure of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebaste.[3] He also settled the affairs of the city in a most regular manner.

§ 3. And when Augustus had further bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marble in his honour near the fountains of the Jordan. The place is called Panium.[4] There the top of a mountain rises to an immense height, and at its side beneath a dark cave opens, within which is a horrible precipice that descends abruptly to a vast depth, which contains a mighty quantity of stagnant water, and if any body lets down any thing to find the bottom, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of the Jordan rise at the external roots of this cave, and some think, this is the origin of the Jordan. But I shall speak of this matter more accurately hereafter.

§ 4. And the king erected other edifices at Jericho also, between the citadel Cypros[5] and the former palace, which were better and more convenient for dwelling in, and named them after the same friends of his. In short, there was

[1] North of the Temple. Jewish War, i. 3, § 3.

[2] Herod's palace occupied the ground to the south of the *Tower of David* at Jerusalem.

[3] From Sebastus, the Greek version of Augustus. *Sebustieh*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

[4] Cæsarea Philippi. *Bâniâs*. Antiq. xv. 10, § 3; xvii. 8, § 1; xviii. 2, § 1; xx. 9, § 4. Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1; iii. 9, § 7; vii. 2, § 1.

[5] Possibly *Beit Jubr et-Tahtâni*. Antiq. xvi. 5, § 2. Jewish War, 21, § 9; ii. 18, § 6.

not any place in his kingdom fit for the purpose, that was permitted to be without something for the emperor's honour, and when he had filled his own country with temples to him, he showed him the like marks of honour all over the province, and built in many cities temples in honour of Cæsar Augustus.

§ 5. And when he observed that there was a city by the seaside, that was much decayed, called Strato's Tower,[1] and that the place, from its convenient situation, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, and in it especially showed his natural munificence. For all the seashore between Dora[2] and Joppa,[3] between which places this city is situated, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phœnice for Egypt had to toss about out at sea because of the south wind that threatened them; for if that wind blows but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised and dash upon the rocks, that upon their ebb the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king by great expense and liberality overcame nature, and built a haven larger than the Piræus,[4] and in its recesses built other deep stations for ships also.

§ 6. Now although the place was very ill adapted for his purpose, yet did he so fully struggle with its difficulty, that the firmness of his work could not easily be conquered by the sea, and the beauty and ornament of the work was such, as if he had not had any difficulty in its construction. For when he had measured out as large a space for the harbour as I have mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathoms of water, of which most were fifty feet in length, and nine in depth, and ten in breadth, and some larger still. And when that depth was filled up, he enlarged the wall which thus already stood out above the sea to two hundred feet, one hundred of which was built out in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called Procumia,[5] and the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran round the harbour. On this wall were very

[1] Cæsarea Palæstina. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.
[2] *Tantûrah.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 2. [3] *Jaffa.*
[4] The harbour of Athens.
[5] That is, break-water. The ruins can still be seen.

large towers, the principal and most beautiful of which was called Drusium from Drusus, who was step-son of Cæsar Augustus.

§ 7. There were also a great number of crypts, where mariners could put in at; and all the space before them round about was a terrace and broad walk for those that came on shore. And the entrance was on the north, because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth of the haven there were on each side three great Colossuses supported by pillars, of which those on the left hand as one sails in are supported by a solid tower, but those on the right hand are supported by two upright stones joined together, and larger than the tower on the other side of the entrance. And houses, built also themselves of white stone, were close to the haven, and the narrow streets of the city led down to it, which were built at equal distances from one another. And opposite the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, was a temple of Cæsar Augustus, excellent both for beauty and size; and in it was a colossal statue of Cæsar Augustus, as big as the Olympian Zeus, from which it was copied, and a statue of Rome, as big as that of Hera at Argos. And he dedicated the city to the province, and the haven to those that sailed there, but the honour of the founding of the city he ascribed to Cæsar Augustus, and called it Cæsarea accordingly.

§ 8. He also built the other edifices, as the amphitheatre, and theatre, and market-place, in a manner worthy of the name of the city. And he appointed games every fifth year, and called them in like manner Cæsar's Games; and he first offered himself the largest prizes in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad, in which games not only the victors themselves, but also those that came in second and even third, were partakers of the royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anthedon,[1] a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and called it Agrippeum; indeed, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraven upon the gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

[1] Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

§ 9. Herod was also a lover of his father, if any person ever was, for he built as a memorial of his father a city in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, which had rivers and trees in abundance, and called it Antipatris.[1] He also built a wall round a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was very strong and handsome, and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cypros. Moreover, he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, to his brother Phasaelus,[2] and called it by his name. Its structure, size, and magnificence, I shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley that leads northwards from Jericho, and called it Phasaelis.[3]

§ 10. And as he thus handed down to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial of himself, but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and called it after himself Herodium;[4] and he called a hill that was the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, by the same name, and bestowed much curious art upon it at lavish expense. For he built round towers all about the top of it, and filled the enclosure with the most costly palaces, so that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was expended on the outer walls and cornices and roofs. He also brought a quantity of water from a great distance at vast cost, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the elevation for this reservoir was a fair height and entirely artificial. He also built other palaces at the bottom of the hill, large enough to receive the furniture that was put into them and his friends also; so that from its containing all necessaries the fortress might seem to be a city, but from its area a palace only.

§ 11. And when he had built thus much, he exhibited the greatness of his soul to very many foreign cities. For he

[1] *Râs el-'Ain.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 7.

[2] The 'Tower of David,' near the '*Jaffa* Gate,' Jerusalem. Antiq. xvi. 5, § 2; xvii. 10, § 2. Jewish War, ii. 3, § 2; 17, § 8; v. 4, § 3; vii. 1. § 1.

[3] *Fusâil.* Antiq. xvi. 5, § 2; xvii. 8, § 1; xviii. 2, § 2. Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.

[4] *Jebel Furcidis.* Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

built gymnasiums at Tripolis[1] and Damascus and Ptolemais,[2] and a wall round Byblus,[3] and arcades and porticoes and temples and market-places at Berytus[4] and Tyre,[5] and theatres at Sidon[6] and Damascus. He also built an aqueduct for those Laodiceans[7] who lived by the sea-side; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also colonnades that were admirable both for their workmanship and size. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people; and not a few cities had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues for ever on the offices of gymnasiarchs, appointing for them, as for the people of Cos,[8] that prizes should never be wanting. He also gave corn to all who wanted it, and frequently[9] conferred upon the people of Rhodes[10] large sums of money for building ships. And when Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own expense, but handsomer than before. Why need I speak of the presents he made to the Lycians[11] and Samians,[12] or of his great liberality through all Ionia,[13] according to everybody's wants? And are not the Athenians, and Lacedæmonians, and Nicopolitans,[14] and Pergamus[15] in Mysia, full of donations that Herod presented them with? And as for the street of Antioch in Syria,[16] did not he pave it with polished marble, though it was twenty furlongs long, and shunned by all men before, because it was full of mud, and did he not adorn it with a portico of the same length to take shelter in from the rain?

[1] *Tarabulus*, on the Syrian coast. Antiq. xii. 10, § 1; xiii. 10, § 2.
[2] *'Akka*. [3] *Jebeil*, the Gebal of Ezek. xxvii. 9.
[4] *Beirût*. Antiq. xvi. 11, § 2; xvii. 10, § 9; xix. 7, § 5; xx. 9, § 4. Jewish War, i. 27, § 2; ii. 5, § 1; vii. 3, § 1.
[5] *Sûr*. Jewish War, i. 18, § 5.
[6] *Saida*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 1.
[7] The people of Laodicea. Jewish War, i. 11, § 7.
[8] One of the Sporades. Antiq. xiv. 7, § 2; 10, § 15; xvi. 2, § 2.
[9] πολλαχοῦ καί I omit as a gloss.
[10] Jewish War, i. 14, § 3.
[11] The people of Lycia. Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.
[12] The people of the island of Samos. Antiq. xvi. 2, § 2.
[13] Antiq. i. 6, § 1; xvi. 2, § 3.
[14] The people of Nicopolis, near Prévesa. Antiq. xvi. 5, § 3. Jewish War, i. 9, § 3.
[15] Antioch on the Orontes, now *Antâkia*. Antiq. xvi. 5, § 3.

§ 12. But perhaps some one may say, these were favours peculiar to particular places, but his donation to the people of Elis[1] was not only common to all Greece, but to all the world, to which the glory of the Olympic games reached. For when he perceived that they were coming to nothing for want of money, and that the only vestige of ancient Greece was disappearing, he not only became a president of the games in that quinquennial celebration, which in his sailing to Rome he happened to be present at, but he settled upon them revenues of money in perpetuity, insomuch that his memory as a president of the games there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should detail his remissions of debts or tributes, as he eased the people of Phasaelis[2] and Balanea,[3] and the small cities about Cilicia,[4] of the annual taxes they before paid. However, the greatness of his soul was very much disturbed by the fear that he should excite envy, or seem to hunt after greater things than he ought, in bestowing more liberal gifts upon these cities than their own masters had.

§ 13. Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, in which sport he generally had great success owing to his skill in riding, for in one day he once killed forty wild beasts. His country breeds boars, and is especially full of stags and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood, and many have marvelled at his skill at the butts, when they saw him a most straight javelin-thrower, and a most unerring archer. And in addition to this excellence of mind and body, fortune was also very favourable to him. For he seldom failed of success in war; and when he failed, he was not himself the cause of such failure, but he was either betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat.

[1] The people of Elis in the Peloponnesos.
[2] Jewish War, i. 21, § 9.
[3] *Banias*, between Laodicea, *Latakieh*, and Antaradus, *Tartûs*.
[4] The modern province of *Adana* in Asia Minor. Antiq. i. 6, § 1; ix. 10, § 2; xiii. 13, § 5. Jewish War, i. 4, § 3; 7, § 7.

CHAP. XXII.

The Murder of the High Priests Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, as also of Mariamne the Queen.

§ 1.

HOWEVER, fortune had a Nemesis against Herod for his external success, by raising him up domestic troubles, and he began to be unhappy on account of his wife, of whom he was very fond. For when he became king, he put away her whom he had married when he was a private person, a native of Jerusalem, whose name was Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome. For first of all, he banished from Jerusalem Antipater the son of Doris, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, and permitted him to come there at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he returned to him from Parthia, on a suspicion of plotting against him. This Hyrcanus had been carried captive by Barzapharnes, when he overran Syria, and those of his own country beyond the Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, moved by pity. And had he listened to them, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he would not have perished. But the marriage of his granddaughter Mariamne ensnared him to his death; for as he relied upon that, and was very fond of his own country, he returned to it. Now Herod's irritation against him was, not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that the kingdom properly belonged to him.

§ 2. Now of the five children that Herod had by Mariamne, two were daughters, and three were sons. And the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died; and the two eldest he treated as royal blood because of the exalted rank of their mother, and because he was king when they were born. But what was stronger

than all this was the love he bore to Mariamne, which inflamed him every day to a greater degree, so that he felt none of the troubles that arose on account of her he loved. But Mariamne's hatred to him was not inferior to his love for her. She had, indeed, just cause of indignation for what he had done, while her boldness proceeded from his affection for her; so she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus. For he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he was but a lad, for when he had given him the high priesthood at the age of seventeen, he had him slain immediately after he had conferred that dignity upon him; for when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached the altar at a festival, the assembled multitude wept for joy; whereupon the lad was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galati, at Herod's command, in a swimming-bath till he was drowned.

§ 3. For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod and his sister and mother with dreadful abuse. And he was dumb on account of his affection for her: but the women were very vexed with her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to Herod's bed: which thing they thought most likely to move him to anger. They also contrived many other things to make it appear more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and in her extravagant lust of having thus shown herself, though she was absent, to a man that was mad after women, and had it in his power to force her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and greatly troubled him, especially as his love to her made him jealous, and as he also reflected on the cruelty of Cleopatra, owing to whom Lysanias the king had been taken off, and Malichus the Arabian. For he measured his danger not only by the loss of his wife but also his life.

§ 4. When, therefore, he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him, and bore him good-will on account of their connection by marriage, giving him secret injunctions, if Antony slew him, that he would slay her. But Joseph without any evil intention, and only in order to prove the king's love to his wife,

hat he could not bear to think of being separated from her even by death itself, discovered this secret to her. And when Herod was come back, and in the familiar intercourse of marriage confirmed his love to her by many oaths, and assured her that he had never loved any other woman as he had her; "To be sure," said she, "you proved your love to me by the injunctions you gave Joseph, when you commanded him to kill me."

§ 5. When he heard this secret, he was like a distracted man, and said that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had seduced her; and his passion made him stark mad, and he leaped off the bed, and ran about the palace in a wild manner. Meantime his sister Salome took advantage of this to blast Mariamne's reputation, and confirm Herod's suspicion about Joseph. And so in his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and, as soon as his anger was worn off, his love was kindled again. And, indeed, his passionate desire for Mariamne was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but in his sorrow talked to her as if she were still alive until taught by time, and grieved, now she was dead, as much as he had loved her while she was living.

CHAP. XXIII.

Calumnies against the Sons of Mariamne. Antipater is preferred before them. They are accused before Augustus, and Herod is reconciled to them.

§ 1.

NOW Mariamne's sons inherited their mother's hate, and when they considered the greatness of Herod's abominable guilt, they were suspicious of their father as of an enemy, even earlier when they were educated at Rome, but still more when they had returned to Judæa. This idea f theirs increased as they grew up to be men. Now when y were come to an age fit for marriage, one of them

married the daughter of their aunt Salome, who had be the accuser of their mother, and the other married th daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And no they used boldness in speaking, as well as bore hate i their minds. And those that calumniated them took handle from their boldness, and some of them told the kin now more plainly that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons, and that the one that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was making preparations for flight to accuse Herod before Augustus. And when Herod was quite poisoned against them by these calumnies, he recalled Antipater, his son by Doris, from exile, as a bulwark against his other sons, and began in every way to treat him with more distinction than them.

§ 2. But this change in their affairs was intolerable to these sons, for when they saw him advanced that was the son of a private woman, the nobility of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation; but whenever they were vexed, they showed their anger. And as they gave more and more offence every day, Antipater began already to look out for his own interest, being very clever in flattering his father, and in contriving various calumnies against his brothers, telling some stories of them himself, and suborning his friends to spread abroad other stories against them, till he entirely cut his brothers off from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom. For he was already put publicly in his father's will as his successor: so he was sent with royal ornaments, and other marks of royalty except the diadem, to Augustus. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed The two weapons he made use of against his brothers were flattery and calumny, whereby he brought matters privately to such a pass that the king thought of putting his sons to death.

§ 3. So Herod dragged Alexander with him as fa as Rome, and charged him with attempting to poison hi before Augustus. Alexander could hardly speak for grief, but having a judge that was more skilful tha Antipater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoid laying any imputations against his father, but very

cleared himself of the calumnies laid against him; and when he had proved the innocence of his brother, who was in the same danger as himself, he then bewailed the craftiness of Antipater, and the dishonour done to him and his brother. He was enabled also to justify himself, not only by a clear conscience, but also by his eloquence; for he was a very clever speaker. And upon his saying at last, that if their father brought this charge against them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made everybody present weep; and brought Augustus to that pass, as to reject the accusation, and to reconcile Herod to them immediately. And the conditions of reconciliation were these, that they should in all things be obedient to their father, and that he should have power to leave the kingdom to whoever he pleased.

§ 4. After this the king returned from Rome, and seemed to have acquitted his sons of these charges, but still was not without some suspicion of them. For he was accompanied by Antipater, who was the fountain-head of these accusations, but who did not openly show his hatred to them, as he stood in awe of him that had reconciled them. And as Herod sailed by Cilicia he touched at Eleusa,[1] where Archelaus treated them in the most hospitable manner, and gave Herod thanks for the safety of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at the reconciliation; for he had lost no time in writing to his friends at Rome to assist Alexander at his trial. And he conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium,[2] and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

§ 5. Now when Herod had returned to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons, and gave an account of the reason of his absence, and thanked God greatly, and Cæsar Augustus also, for settling his house when it was in a state of confusion, and for procuring concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom. "I will render this concord still more firm," he added, "for Augustus has put it into my power to dispose of the king-

[1] Near the river *Lamas*. Antiq. xvi. 4, § 6; 10, § 7.
[2] On the coast of Cilicia, near the mouth of the Calycadnus *Gök Su*.

dom, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, by way of requital for his kindness, and for mine own advantage I do declare, that my three sons here shall all be kings and first I pray for the approbation of God, and next I desire your approval in this matter. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, recommend them for the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large, that it is sufficient for even more kings. Now do you uphold those whom Augustus has united, and their father has appointed; and do not pay undue or unequal respect to them, but to every one according to the order of their birth; for he that pays such respect unduly, will not thereby make him that is honoured beyond what his age requires so joyful, as he will make him that is dishonoured sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends that are to associate with them, I will appoint them for each of them, and will so constitute them that they may be securities for their concord: for I am well aware that the malignity of those with whom they associate will produce quarrels and contentions among them; but if those with whom they associate be good, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire, that not these only, but all the captains of my army, place for the present their hopes on me alone. For I do not hand over my kingdom to my sons, but give them royal honours only; whereby they will enjoy the sweets of government as rulers, but the burden of administration will rest upon me, even if I do not wish for it. And let every one consider my age, and the conduct of my life, and my piety. For my age is not so great, that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged in such a luxurious way of living as cuts men off when they are young; and I have been so religious towards God, that I have reason to hope I may arrive at a very great age. So he that pays court to my sons with a view to deposing me shall be punished by me for such conduct. I am not one who envy my own children or forbid men to pay them respect, but I know that extravagant respect is the way to make them insolent. And if every one that comes near them does but consider this, that if he proves a good man, he shall receive a reward from me, but if he sows discord, [illegible] malignity shall get him nothing from him to whom

ays court, I suppose all will study my interests, which are lso those of my sons; for it will be for their advantage hat I reign, and continue in concord with them. And do ou, my good sons, reflect first upon the sacred ties of nature, by which natural affection is preserved even among wild beasts; and next reflect upon the emperor who has made this reconciliation among us; and, in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you, and continue as brothers. I give you already royal robes and royal honours; and I pray to God to uphold my decision, if you live in concord with one another." When the king had thus spoken, and lovingly embraced every one of his sons, he dismissed the multitude, some of whom wished that what he had said might take effect, but those who desired change pretended that they had not heard what he said.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Malice of Antipater and Doris. Alexander is very uneasy on Glaphyra's Account. Herod pardons Pheroras and Salome. Herod's Eunuchs are tortured, and Alexander is put in bonds.

§ 1.

BUT the dissension between the brothers still accompanied them when they parted, and the suspicions they had of one another grew worse. For Alexander and Aristobulus were much vexed that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater, and Antipater was very angry that his brothers were to succeed him. But he, being very crafty, knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and so concealed the hatred he had to them; while they, relying on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also exasperated them further, and several [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into intimacy with them to find out what they did. So every thing that was said by Alexander was at once brought to Antipater, and from

Antipater it was carried to Herod with additions. N could the young man say anything in the simplicity of h heart without giving offence, but what he said was sti turned to calumny against him, and if he had been at an time a little free in his conversation, the greatest imputa tions were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipate also was perpetually employing persons to provoke him t speak, that the lies he told about him might seem to hav some foundation of truth; and if, among the many storie that were spread abroad, but one could be proved true, tha was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. As to Anti pater's friends, they were all either naturally close, or ha been bribed to be so, so that no secrets got abroad by them nor would any one be wrong if he called the life of Antipate a mystery of wickedness. For he either corrupted Alex ander's suite with money, or got into their favour b flatteries; by which two means he gained all his designs and induced them to betray their master, and to reveal al that he did or said. Thus did he act his part very cunningl in all points, and wound his way to Herod by his calumnie with the greatest art, assuming the character of a kin brother, but suborning other men to inform of them. An when any thing was reported against Alexander, he woul come forward and play his part, and beginning by affectin to disbelieve what was said, would afterwards so con trive matters privately, that the king should be more in censed at him. His main aim was to lay snares, and to mak it appear that Alexander was watching his opportunity t kill his father; for nothing afforded so much confirmatio to these calumnies as did Antipater's apologies for him.

§ 2. By these methods Herod was exasperated, and in proportion as his natural affection to the young me every day diminished, so did it increase toward Antipater The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct, some o their own accord, and others by the king's injunction, a Ptolemy, the king's most honoured friend, as also th king's brothers, and all his family. For Antipater wa all in all: and what was most mortifying to Alexande Antipater's mother was also all in all; and she intrigu against them, and was more harsh than a step-mot and hated the queen's sons even more than it is u

hate step-sons. All men therefore already began to ay court to Antipater in hopes of self-interest, and the ing's commands alienated every body from Alexander and is brother, as he charged his most intimate friends, that hey should not come near them, nor pay any regard to hem. Herod was also terrible, not only to those in his kingdom, but also to his friends abroad; for Augustus had given to no other king such a privilege as he had given to him, namely, that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even from a city that was not in his jurisdiction. Now the young men were ignorant of the calumnies raised against them, so that being off their guard they were the more exposed to them, for their father did not make any public complaints against either of them, though they saw by degrees how things were from his coldness to them, and because he was more and more harsh with them when anything offended him in their conduct. Antipater also made their uncle Pheroras their enemy, and their aunt Salome, as he was always courting her, as if she were his wife, and irritating her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife, Glaphyra, augmented her hatred against them, by talking of her own noble lineage, and declaring that she was superior to all the women in the kingdom, being descended on her father's side from Temenus, and on her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently twitted Herod's sister and wives with their low extraction, for every one of his wives had been chosen by him for their beauty, and not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few, it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many wives;[1] and Herod delighted in many, all of whom hated Alexander on account of Glaphyra's pride and insults.

§ 3. Aristobulus also had quarrelled with his mother-in-law Salome, who was angry enough before at Glaphyra's

[1] That it was an immemorial custom among the Jews, and their forefathers, the patriarchs, to have sometimes more wives, or wives and concubines, than one at the same time, and that this polygamy was not directly forbidden by the law of Moses, is evident; but that polygamy was ever properly and distinctly permitted in that law of Moses, in the places here cited by Dean Aldrich, Deut. xvi. 16, 17, or xxi. 15, or in anywhere else, does not appear to me.—W.

abuse. For he perpetually upbraided his wife with her lo extraction, and complained that he had married a woman o no rank, while his brother Alexander had married a princess At this Salome's daughter wept, and told her mother what he said with the addition, that Alexander and Aristobulus threatened the mothers of their other brothers, that when they should come to the crown, they would make them weave with the female slaves, and would make their brothers country scribes, jeering at them for their careful education. At this Salome could not contain her anger, but told all to Herod; nor could her testimony be suspected, as it was against her own son-in-law. There was also another calumny that spread abroad, and inflamed the king's anger. For he heard that these sons of his were perpetually speaking of their mother, and among their lamentations for her did not abstain from cursing him; and that often, when he made presents of any of Mariamne's dresses to his later wives, his sons threatened, that soon, instead of royal garments, they should clothe themselves in haircloth.

§ 4. Now though Herod on these accounts was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of bringing them to a better mind; so before he went to Rome, where he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and threatened them a little as a king, but in the main admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brothers, and told them that he would pardon their past offences, if they would be better for the time to come. But they cleared themselves of the charges laid against them, and said they were false, and maintained that their actions were sufficient vindication. They said also that Herod ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not to be too credulous, for people would never be wanting to tell lies against them, so long as any would give ear to them.

§ 5. When they had in this way soon persuaded him, as being their father, they got rid of their fear for the present, but they saw reason for sorrow for the future; for they knew that Salome and their uncle Pheroras were their enemies. And both of these were important and dangerous persons, and especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the kingdom, except that he had no dia

had also a hundred talents of his own income, and
yed the revenues of all the land beyond the Jordan,
ich he had received as a gift from his brother, who
d also made him a tetrarch (having asked that favour
Augustus), and given him a wife out of the royal family,
amely, his own wife's sister, and after her death had
olemnly betrothed to him his own eldest daughter, with
dowry of three hundred talents; but Pheroras had
efused this royal marriage because of his love for a
ertain maid-servant. At this Herod was very angry,
nd gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son
f his, who was afterwards slain by the Parthians, but
on laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned
is infatuation for the maid-servant.

§ 6. Pheroras had indeed been accused long before, while
e queen was still alive, of having designed to poison
erod; and there came now so very great a number of in-
rmers, that though Herod was exceedingly fond of his
rother, he was induced to believe what was said, and to
afraid. And when he had brought many of those that
ere under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to
heroras' own friends; none of whom distinctly admitted
y plot, but owned that he had made preparations to carry
this maid-servant whom he loved, and run away to the
rthians, and that Costobarus, the husband of Salome, to
om the king had given her in marriage, after her former
sband had been put to death for adultery, was cognizant
his intended flight. Nor did Salome escape all calumny
rself; for her brother Pheroras accused her of having
de an agreement to marry Syllæus (the procurator of
obas, king of Arabia), who was a very bitter enemy of
erod. But though she was convicted of this, and of all
at Pheroras had accused her of, she obtained her pardon.
he king also pardoned Pheroras himself the crimes he
as accused of.

§ 7. Thus the storm that threatened the whole family
ifted to Alexander, and all of it burst upon his head.
here were three eunuchs who were in the highest esteem
th the king, as was plain by the offices they held about
person; for one of them was appointed his butler,
her of them brought in his supper, and the third put

him to bed, and lay with him. Now Alexander had indu these eunuchs by large gifts to be his pathics. And wh this was told to the king, they were put to the torture, a at once confessed the immoral relations he had had wit them. They also disclosed the promises by which they ha been induced to behave so, and how they were deluded b Alexander, who had told them that they ought not to fi their hopes upon Herod, a shameless old man who dyed h hair (and perhaps they thought him young on that account but they ought to pay their court to him, who was su to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he liked c not, and who in no long time would avenge himself on h enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, an themselves most so of all. They added that influenti men already paid court to Alexander privately, and th the generals of the army and other officers secretly waite upon him.

§ 8. These confessions so terrified Herod, that he dur not immediately make them public, but he privately se spies abroad by night and day, and made a close inqui into all that was done and said, and put all who were su pected of treason to death. Thus the palace was full horrible injustice. For everybody forged calumnies, a cording as they were in a state of enmity or hatred again others, and many abused the king's thirst for blo against those with whom they had quarrels. And li were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted soon than the calumnies were forged: and he who had ju been accusing another, was accused himself, and was l away to execution with him whom he had convicted; f the danger the king was in of his life cut inquiries ve short. He also proceeded to such a degree of bitte ness, that he could not look pleasant even at any of tho that were not accused, but was most savage even to h friends. Indeed, he forbade a great many of them to co to court, and spoke harshly to those whom he had n power actually to injure. As for Antipater, he intrigu against Alexander afresh, now he was in misfortune, a got a band of his kinsmen together, and raised all so of calumnies against him. And the king was brought such a degree of terror by these prodigious slanders

ntions, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to with a drawn sword in his hand. So he had him sted immediately and put into prison, and proceeded examine his friends by torture, most of whom died ntly, for they would not say anything against their sciences; but some, being forced to speak falsely by e pain, said that Alexander and his brother Aristobulus had conspired against Herod, and watched for an opportunity to kill him as he was hunting, and then intended to flee to Rome. These accusations, though they were far from plausible, and only made up on the spur of the moment from the great torture they were in, were gladly believed by the king, who thought it some comfort not to appear to have put his son into prison unjustly.

CHAP. XXV.

Archelaus effects a Reconciliation between Alexander and Pheroras and Herod.

§ 1.

NOW Alexander, since he saw it was impossible to change his father's mind, resolved to meet his calamities; so he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed to a conspiracy, but declared also that most of them were accomplices with him, and especially Pheroras and Salome; nay, he declared that Salome one night forced him against his will to lie with her. These books were put into Herod's hands, and raised a great clamour against influential persons. And Archelaus hurried to Judæa, being frightened for his son-in-law and daughter; and he came as a very prudent helper to them, and by his astuteness prevented the king's carrying out his threats. For when he was come to him, he cried out at once, "Where in the world is this accursed son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see that parricidal head, which I will tear pieces with my own hands? I will do the same also to daughter, who has such a fine husband: for if she ot been a partner in the plot, yet, by being the wife

of such a wretch, she is polluted. And I wonder at [illegible] patience, after having been thus plotted against, if A[illegible] ander is still alive. For I came with what haste I, c[illegible] from Cappadocia, for I expected to find he had paid [illegible] penalty long ago; but I desired to consider with you [illegible] case of my daughter, whom I had given to him in m[illegible] riage, out of regard to you and your rank. But, now [illegible] must take counsel about them both. And if your paternal [illegible] affection is so great, that you cannot punish your son, who [illegible] has plotted against you, let us exchange our right hands, [illegible] and succeed one to the other in expressing our rage upon [illegible] this occasion."

§ 2. By this pompous oration Archelaus got Herod to [illegible] remit his purpose somewhat, though he was very deter- [illegible] mined. And Herod gave him the books which Alexander [illegible] had composed to read, and as he perused every chapter [illegible] considered it with him. And Archelaus took opportunity [illegible] from this for his stratagem, and by degrees shifted the [illegible] blame to the persons whose names were in these books, [illegible] and especially to Pheroras. And when he saw that the [illegible] king believed him, he said, "We must consider whether [illegible] the young man be not himself plotted against by s[illegible] many wicked wretches, and not you plotted against by th[illegible] young man. For I cannot see any reason for his falling [illegible] into so abominable a crime, since he enjoys the advan- [illegible] tages of royalty already, and has the hope of being one [illegible] of your successors, unless indeed some persons urge him [illegible] to it, who abuse the easiness of youth; for not only are [illegible] young men sometimes imposed upon by such persons, but [illegible] old men also, and sometimes the most illustrious families [illegible] and whole kingdoms overturned."

§ 3. Herod assented to what he said, and by degrees [illegible] abated of his anger against Alexander, but was exasperated [illegible] with Pheroras; for he was the principal subject of the four [illegible] books. So Pheroras, perceiving this sudden change on the [illegible] part of the king, and observing that Archelaus' friendship [illegible] was now all powerful with Herod, and that he had no honour- [illegible] able method of preserving himself, procured his safety [illegible] impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to [illegible] chelaus. And Archelaus told him that he did not see [illegible] he could get him excused, now he was involved in so [illegible]

arges, by which it was clearly proved that he had plotted ainst the king, and had been the cause of that evil plight ich the young man was now in, unless he would leave his cunning, and cease to deny what he was charged with, d confess his guilt, and implore pardon of his brother, o still loved him; and if he would do so, he would ford him all the assistance in his power.

§ 4. With this advice Pheroras complied, and so at-iring himself as might most move compassion, he came with a black garment and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at Herod's feet, as often as he got an oppor-unity, and begged pardon for what he had done, and onfessed himself a guilty wretch, who had done every hing he had been accused of, and lamented the distraction f his mind and madness, which his love to a woman had he said) brought him to. And when Archelaus had got Pheroras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he hen made excuses for him, and mitigated Herod's anger owards him by an illustration from his own family his-ry. For he said that he had suffered much worse treat-ent from a brother of his own, but preferred the ties of ature to revenge; for in kingdoms, as in overgrown bodies, here some member or other was swollen by the body's eight, it was not proper to cut off such member, but to eal it by a gentle method of cure.

§ 5. Upon Archelaus' saying this, and much more to the ame purpose, Herod's displeasure against Pheroras was ollified; but Archelaus persisted in his indignation gainst Alexander, and said he would have his daughter ivorced, and take her away from him, till he induced Herod to plead in turn for the young man, and that Arche-aus would let his daughter continue his wife. But Arche-aus very plausibly told Herod he might marry her to any ne he chose but Alexander, because he (Pheroras) attached he very greatest importance to keeping up the bonds of affi-y with Herod. And when Herod rejoined that his son uld take it as a great favour of him, if he would not dis-e the marriage, especially as they had had children, and s wife was so loved by the young man, that while she ned his wife she would be a great safeguard against ending, whereas, if she should be once torn away

from him, she would cause his utter despair (for audacious enterprises were best quieted by being diverted by honest affections), Archelaus complied with what Herod desired, but not without apparent reluctance, and was both himself reconciled to the young man, and reconciled his father to him also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome to speak with the emperor, because he had already written him a full account of the whole matter.

§ 6. Such was the end of Archelaus' astuteness, by which he delivered his son-in-law from the danger he was in: and after these reconciliations were effected, they spent their time in feasting and mirth. And when Archelaus went away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents, and a golden throne set with precious stones, and some eunuchs, and a concubine who was called Pannychis. He also paid due honour to every one of his friends according to their merit. In like manner did all the king's kindred, at his command, make handsome presents to Archelaus. And he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility as far as Antioch.

CHAP. XXVI.

How Eurycles calumniated the Sons of Mariamne; and how the Testimony of Euaratus of Cos on their behalf was ineffectual.

§ 1.

NOW not long afterwards there came into Judæa a man that was much abler than Archelaus in stratagems, who not only upset the reconciliation that had been so ably managed by Archelaus for Alexander, but also proved the cause of Alexander's destruction. He was a Lacedæmonian, whose name was Eurycles, who, attracted by the desire of getting money, came to the kingdom in an evil hour, for Greece could no longer suffice for his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts, as a bait to compass his ends, and soon received them back again multiplied, but he esteemed bare gifts as nothing, unless by his trafficking he imbrued the kingdom in blood. For he got round the king by flattery and by clever talking

y the lying encomiums which he passed upon him. For s he soon saw through Herod's character, he said and id every thing to please him, and so became one of his ost intimate friends. And indeed the king and all that ere about him had a great regard for this Spartan on ccount of his country.[1]

§ 2. Now as soon as this fellow perceived the rotten state f the family, and the dissensions of the brothers, and the isposition of the father towards each of them, he chose to eside in the house of Antipater, but pretended friendship or Alexander, and falsely claimed to be an old comrade of Archelaus. So he was quickly admitted into Alexander's ntimacy as a tried friend. He also soon recommended himelf to his brother Aristobulus. And when he had tested he characters of these several persons, he insinuated himelf into their favour by different ways. But he was prinipally hired by Antipater, and betrayed Alexander, *though he played a double game*, reproaching Antipater because, when he was the eldest son, he overlooked the intrigues of hose who stood in the way of his expectations, and reproaching Alexander because he who was son of a queen, nd married to a king's daughter, permitted the son of a rivate woman to lay claim to the succession, and that when e had the very great support of Archelaus. Nor was is advice thought to be other than faithful by the young an, because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus. And so Alexander, without concealing any thing from im, lamented to him Antipater's behaviour with regard to himself, and said it was no wonder that Herod, fter he had killed their mother, should deprive them of her kingdom. At this Eurycles pretended to pity and ympathize with them. He also, by a bait that he laid or him, got Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus lid he inveigle both the brothers to make complaints gainst their father, and then went to Antipater, and

[1] The reason why his being a Spartan rendered him acceptable to the ews, as we have seen he was, is visible from the public records of the ys and Spartans, owning those Spartans to be akin to the Jews, and wed from their common ancestor Abraham, the first patriarch of the h nation. See Antiq. xii. 4, § 10; xiii. 5, § 8; and 1 Mac. xii.

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carried these secrets to him. He also added a fiction of h
own, as if the brothers had laid a plot against him, an
were all but ready to come upon him with their draw
swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum
money, and on that account he praised Antipater to h
father, and at last undertook to bring about the death
Alexander and Aristobulus, and to accuse them befor
their father. So he went to Herod, and told him tha
he would, save his life as a requital for the favours h
had received from him, and would preserve him fro
death by way of return for his kind entertainment. Fo
he said a sword had long been whetted against him
and Alexander's right hand had long been stretched ou
against him; but that he (Eurycles) had thwarted Alex
ander's eagernesss by pretending to co-operate with hi
in his design. He stated that Alexander said that Hero
was not content with reigning himself in a kingdom tha
belonged to others, and with playing fast and loose wit
their mother's kingdom, after he had killed her; bu
besides all this he introduced a spurious successor, an
proposed to give the kingdom of their ancestors to tha
pestilent fellow Antipater. He also stated that Alexande
said that he would now appease the departed souls o
Hyrcanus and Mariamne, by taking vengeance on Herod
for it was not fit for him to succeed such a father on th
throne without bloodshed: and many things happene
every day to provoke him to do so, for he could say nothin
at all but it afforded a handle for calumny against him
For if any mention were made of nobility of birth even o
others, he was insulted unjustly, for his father would say
that nobody of course was of noble birth but Alexander
and that he despised his father on account of his low ex
traction. If they were at any time hunting, and he sai
nothing, he gave offence; and if he commended any bod
he was called dissembler; and he always found his fath
harsh, and without natural affection for any but Ant
pater; on which account, if his plot did not succeed h
was very willing to die; but if he killed his father, he ha
sufficient opportunities for saving himself. In the fi
place, he had Archelaus his father-in-law, to whom
could easily flee; and in the next place he had th

eror, who was ignorant of Herod's character to that day. For he would not then appear before him with that dread e had before, when his father was there to terrify him, or would he then produce only personal charges against Herod, but would first openly dwell on the calamities of the nation, and how they were taxed to death, and next in what ways of luxury and wicked practices that wealth was spent which was got by bloodshed, and state what sort of persons they were that got the national riches, and to whom their cities had been entrusted. He would then have inquiry made as to the deaths of his grandfather and mother, and would openly proclaim all the plague-spots of the kingdom; and on these various accounts he would not be deemed a parricide.

§ 3. When Eurycles had made this portentous speech against Alexander, he greatly commended Antipater, as the only son of his that had an affection for his father, and on that account was an impediment to the others' plot against him. Thereupon the king, who had with difficulty kept down his anger at the earlier part of Eurycles' speech, was exasperated to an incurable degree. And Antipater again seized another opportunity to suborn other accusers against his brothers, and to tell him that they had privately tampered with Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had formerly been the king's masters of the horse, but for some offences had been now dismissed from that office. Herod was in a very great rage at this information, and at once ordered those men to be tortured: but they did not confess anything of what the king had been informed. But a certain letter was produced, purporting to be written by Alexander to the governor of one of Herod's castles, begging him to receive him and his brother Aristobulus into the castle when he had killed his father, and to give them weapons and what other assistance he could. Alexander indeed said that this letter was a forgery of Diophantus, the king's secretary, who was a bold man, and clever in imitating any one's handwriting, and after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod also ordered the governor of the castle to be tortured, but got nothing out of him of what the accusation asserted.

§ 4. However, although Herod found the evidence weak he gave orders to have his sons kept in custody, for til now they had been at liberty. He also called Eurycle that pest of his house, and contriver of all these vil accusations, his saviour and benefactor, and gave him reward of fifty talents. Upon this he prevented any accurate account getting abroad of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he obtained money also from Archelaus, having the impudence to say that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed into Greece, and used what he had thus wickedly got to the like wicked purposes. So he was twice accused before Cæsar Augustus of having filled Achaia with sedition, and and having plundered its cities, and was sent into banishment. Thus was he punished at last for his wicked conduct to Aristobulus and Alexander.

§ 5. It is right to contrast the conduct of Euaratus of Cos with that of this Spartan. For as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time as Eurycles, the king asked him whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath, that he had never heard any such things from the young men; but this testimony availed nothing for the clearing of the poor wretches; for Herod was most ready to hearken only to what was said against them, and every one was most agreeable to him, who would join him in believing their guilt, and in expressing their indignation.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod, by Augustus' direction, accuses his Sons at Beryt They are not produced before the Court, but yet are co demned; and in a little time they are sent to Sebaste, an strangled there.

§ 1.

MOREOVER, Salome increased Herod's savag against his sons; for Aristobulus was desir ng her, who was his mother-in-law and aunt, i

ame danger as himself; so he sent to her to advise her to see to her safety, and told her, that the king intended to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, that formerly, when she was anxious to marry Syllæus the Arabian, she had secretly discovered to the king's secrets to him who was the king's enemy. Now this came as the last storm, and entirely overwhelmed the young men who were in great danger before. For Salome came running to the king, and informed him of the advice that had been given her, whereupon he could restrain himself no longer, but commanded both the young men to be imprisoned, and kept apart from one another. He also sent Volumnius, the general of the army, to Augustus [illegible]dily, and also his friend Olympus with him, who [illegible]d the informations in writing with them. Now, as [illegible]s they had sailed to Rome, and delivered the king's [illegible]s, Augustus was mightily troubled at the case of [illegible] young men, but he did not think he ought to take [illegible] power from a father over his sons. So he wrote back [illegible]him, and gave him full authority, but said he would do well to have a judicial inquiry as to the plot against him, and to take for his assessors his own kindred and the governors of the province; and if his sons were found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appeared to have thought of no more than fleeing from him, to moderate their punishment in that case.

§ 2. With these directions Herod complied, and went to Berytus,[1] where Augustus had ordered, and got the court assembled. The governors of provinces sat first, as Augustus' letter had appointed, and Saturninus and Pedanius and their lieutenants, among whom was Volumnius also, the general of the army, and next to them sat the king's kinsmen and friends, and Salome also and Pheroras, next to whom sat the principal men of all Syria, except king Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him, because he was Alexander's father-in-law. But he did not produce his sons in open court, and this was done very cunningly; for he knew well enough that, had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied; and if they had

[1] *Beirût.* Jewish War, i. 21, § 11.

also been suffered to speak, Alexander would easily hav
got them acquitted of what they were accused of. Bu
they were in custody at Platane,[1] a village of the Sidonians

§ 3. Now the king got up, and inveighed against his son
as if they were present. As for the accusation indeed tha
they had plotted against him, he urged it but faintly
because he was destitute of proof, but he dwelt before the
court on their abuse, and jests, and insults, and ten
thousand offences against him, which were harder to bear
than death itself. And as nobody contradicted him, he
moved them to pity his case, as though he had been con-
demned himself, now he had gained a bitter victory against
his sons. And he asked every one's sentence, and Saturninus
first gave his, and said that he condemned the young
but not to death; for it was not fit for him, wh
three sons of his own now present, to give his vote f
death of the sons of another. The two lieutenants als
the like vote, and some others also followed their exa
But Volumnius first voted the more melancholy
tence, and all those that voted after him condemned
young men to death, some out of flattery, and some out o
hatred to Herod, but none from indignation against th
young men. And now all Syria and Judæa was in great
expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy;
however, nobody supposed that Herod would be so bar-
barous as to put his sons to death. But he dragged them
off to Tyre,[2] and sailed thence to Cæsarea,[3] and deliberated
with himself what sort of death the young men should
suffer.

§ 4. Now there was a certain old soldier of the king
whose name was Tero, who had a son that was very inti-
mate and friendly with Alexander, and also himself per-
sonally loved the young men. This Tero was distracted
from excess of indignation, and at first he cried out
aloud, as he went about, that justice was trampled unde
foot, that truth had perished, and nature was confounded
and that life was full of lawlessness, and said everythin
else that passion could suggest to a man who valued

[1] See Antiq. xvi. 11, § 2.
[2] *Sûr.* Jewish War, i. 18, § 5.
[3] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

his own life. And at last he ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly, I think, you are a most unfortunate man, in hearkening to most wicked wretches against those that ought to be dearest to you, for you have frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death, and yet you believe them against your sons; while they, by cutting off your legitimate successors, leave all wholly to Antipater, choosing such a king as may be thoroughly under their influence. However, consider whether the death of Antipater's brothers will not make him hated by the soldiers. For there is nobody who does not pity the young men, and many of the officers show their indignation at it openly." Upon his saying this, he named those that showed this [illegible]nation; and the king ordered those men, and Tero [illegible]lf, and his son, to be arrested immediately.

Upon this a certain barber, whose name was Trypho, [illegible]d up in a kind of madness, and informed of himself, said to Herod, "This Tero endeavoured to persuade [illegible]also to cut your throat with my razor when I shaved [illegible], and promised that Alexander would give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero and his son and the barber by the torture; but as the others denied the accusation, and the barber said nothing further, Herod gave orders that Tero should be racked more severely. Thereupon Tero's son, out of pity to his father, promised to discover the whole to the king, if he would spare his father. And when Herod had agreed to this, he said that his father, at the instigation of Alexander, had intended to kill him. Now some said this was made up, to free his father from his torture, and some said it was true.

§ 6. And now Herod accused the officers and Tero in an assembly of the people, and brought the people together in a body against them; and accordingly they were there put to death as also the barber, being killed by pieces of wood and stones that were thrown at them. Herod also sent his sons to Sebaste,[1] which is not far from Cæsarea, and [illegible]dered them to be strangled there. And his orders being [illegible]uted immediately, he commanded that their dead

[1] *Sebustieh.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

bodies should be brought to the fortress of Alexandrium, to be buried with Alexander, their maternal grandfather. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Antipater is hated by all Men; and how Herod wanted to betroth the sons of those that had been slain to his own kindred; but Antipater got him to change these proposed Marriages. Herod's various Wives and Children.

§ 1.

BUT unconquerable hatred rose up against Ant from the nation, now that he had an indisputab to the succession, because all knew that he was the p who had contrived all the calumnies against his brot Moreover, he began to be in no small fear, as he saw posterity of those that had been slain growing up. Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Ale ander; and Aristobulus had three sons, Herod an Agrippa and Aristobulus, and two daughters, Herodi and Mariamne, by Salome's daughter Berenice. As f Glaphyra; Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sen her back to Cappadocia with her dowry, but marrie Berenice, Aristobulus' widow, to the brother of Antipater' mother. Antipater had arranged this marriage in order t reconcile Salome to him, who had been at variance witl him. He also got into Pheroras' favour, and into th favour of Augustus' friends, by presents and other way of paying court, and sent no small sums of money t Rome. Saturninus also, and his friends in Syria, were al well replenished with the presents he made them. But th more he gave the more he was hated, as not making thes presents out of generosity, but spending his money from fea Thus the result was that the receivers bore him no m good-will than before, while those to whom he gave noth were his more bitter enemies. However, he bestowed

[1] *Kefr Istûna.* Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.

)ney every day more and more profusely, on observing
at, contrary to his hopes, the king took care of the
phans, and thus showed his repentance for killing their
:hers, by his commiseration of their children.

§ 2. For Herod got together on one occasion his kindred
d friends, and set before them these children, and with
s eyes full of tears spoke as follows. "It was an unlucky
te that took away from me these children's fathers, and
ey are recommended to me by the natural pity which
eir orphan condition inspires. And I will endeavour,
ough I have been a most unfortunate father, to appear
milder grandfather, and to leave these children after my
:ath such guardians as are dearest to me. I therefore
[redacted]h your daughter, Pheroras, to the elder of the sons
exander, that you may be a guardian by affinity. I
)etroth your son, Antipater, to the daughter of Aris-
us; be therefore a father to that orphan; and my son
d, whose maternal grandfather was high priest, shall
her sister. And let every one that loves me be of my
in these arrangements, which none that have an
ction for me will break. And I pray God that he will
in these children together in marriage to the advantage
f my kingdom and posterity, and look down with more
ntle eyes upon them than he looked upon their fathers."

§ 3. While he yet spoke these words, he wept, and
)ined the children's right hands together; after which he
nbraced every one of them in an affectionate manner,
id dismissed the assembly. Upon this Antipater's blood
in cold at once, and everybody noticed that he lamented
hat was done. For he supposed that the honours con-
rred on these orphans were derogatory to him even in
s father's lifetime, and that he would hereafter run risk
losing the kingdom altogether, if Alexander's sons should
ve the support of the king Archelaus and the tetrarch
croras. He also reflected how he was himself hated by
nation, and how they pitied these orphans, and what
at affection the Jews bore those brothers of his when
were alive, and how they cherished their memory now
had perished owing to him. So he resolved by all
e means to get these betrothals dissolved.

Now he was afraid of going craftily about this.

matter with his father, who was difficult to deal with, and was at once moved upon the least suspicion: so he ventured to go to him and beg him straight out not to deprive him of the honour which he had been pleased to bestow upon him, and that he might not have the bare name of king, while the power was with other persons: for he would never be able to hold his own, if Alexander's son was to have Pheroras for his father-in-law in addition to the support of his grandfather Archelaus; and he besought him earnestly, since there were so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those proposed marriages. For the king had nine wives,[1] and children by seven of them: Antipater was himself the son of Doris, and Herod the son of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter; and An[illegible] and Archelaus were by the Samaritan Malthace, as a daughter Olympias, whom his brother's Joseph's had married; by Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had had H[illegible] and Philip, and Phasaelus by Pallas. He had also daughters, Roxane and Salome, one by Phædra, and other by Elpis. He had also two wives that had no dren, the one his cousin, and the other his niece; and sides these he had two daughters, sisters of Alexander an Aristobulus, by Mariamne. Since, therefore, the roya family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to chang these proposed marriages.

§ 5. When the king perceived the disposition he ex hibited to these orphans, he was very angry at it, and suspicion came into his mind, as to those sons whom h had put to death, whether that too had not been brough about by the calumnies of Antipater. So at the time h made Antipater a long and angry answer, and bade hi

[1] Dean Aldrich takes notice here, that these nine wives of Herod we alive at the same time, and that if the celebrated Mariamne, who w now dead, be reckoned, Herod's wives were in all ten. Yet it is remar able that he had no more than fifteen children by them all.—W.

[2] To prevent confusion, it may not be amiss, with Dean Aldrich distinguish between four Josephs in the history of Herod. 1. Jose Herod's uncle, and the [second] husband of his sister Salome, slai Herod, on account of Mariamne. 2. Joseph, Herod's quæstor, or surer, slain on the same account. 3. Joseph, Herod's brother, battle against Antigonus. 4. Joseph, Herod's nephew, the hu Olympias, mentioned in this place.—W.

gone. But he was afterwards prevailed upon by his tteries, and changed the proposed marriages, betrothing n to Aristobulus' daughter, and his son to Pheroras' ughter.

§ 6. Now one may learn how very much Antipater could by flattery, from Salome's inability in similar circumances. For though she was Herod's sister, and had, rough Julia, the emperor's wife, earnestly begged to be arried to Syllæus the Arabian, Herod swore he would steem her his bitterest enemy, unless she would give up he project; and also caused her at last against her will o be married to Alexas a friend of his, and had one of her aughters married to Alexas' son, and the other to Antiater's mother's brother. As for the daughters Herod had ariamne, one was married to Antipater his sister's son, he other to his brother's son Phasaelus.

CHAP. XXIX.

pater becomes intolerable. He is sent to Rome, and carries Herod's Testament with him. Pheroras leaves his Brother, that he may keep his Wife, and dies in his own Tetrarchy.

§ 1.

NOW when Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted affinities for his own vantage, he had confidence in the certainty of his hopes, l as he had now assurance added to his wickedness, he ame intolerable. For not being able to avoid the red of all people, he sought his security in the terror inspired in them. Pheroras also assisted him in his igns, looking upon him already as sure to be king. ere was also a company of women at the court, who ited new disturbances; for Pheroras' wife, and her ther and sister, and also Antipater's mother, showed at effrontery in the palace. Pheroras' wife even dared insult the king's [1] two daughters, on which account the

[1] These daughters of Herod, whom Pheroras' wife insulted, were ne and Roxane, two virgins, who were born to him of his two wives, and Phædra. See Antiq. xvii. 1, § 3; also Jewish War, i. 28, § 4.—W.

king hated her especially; but although these women we hated by him, they domineered over the others. Salom only was antagonistic to their union, and informed t king of their meetings, as not being for the advantage his affairs. And when those women knew the charges sh had made against them, and how much Herod was di pleased, they left off their public meetings and friendl entertainments of one another; and, on the contrary, pr tended to quarrel with one another, when the king wa within hearing. Antipater exhibited similar dissimula tion, and openly opposed Pheroras; but still they ha private cabals and merry meetings at night, nor did thei being under espionage do any thing but increase thei mutual agreement. However, Salome knew everythin they did, and told it all to Herod.

§ 2. And he was inflamed with anger at them, especially at Pheroras' wife; for Salome had principall cused her. So he assembled together his friends and kin and there accused this woman of many things, and par larly of her insolence to his daughters, and of supplyin Pharisees with money to his detriment, and of makin brother his enemy, by giving him love potions. At he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him, that would give him his choice of these two things, whether would keep in with his brother, or with his wife. An when Pheroras said that he would die rather than leave h wife, Herod not knowing what to do further in the matte turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to ha no intercourse either with Pheroras' wife, or with Pheror himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now, thou Antipater did not transgress this injunction publicly, secretly used to pass the night with them; and becaus was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he got le by means of his Italian friends to go and live at Ro For when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to sent to Augustus after some time, Herod made no delay, sent him with a splendid retinue, and a great deal money, and gave him his testament to carry with hi wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to hi and Herod, the son of Mariamne the high priest's daug was named as Antipater's successor.

§ 3. Syllæus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without
y regard to Augustus' injunctions, in order to oppose
tipater with all his might, as to that law-suit which
had had with Nicolaus before. This Syllæus had also a
eat contest with Aretas his own king; for he had slain
veral of Aretas' friends, and particularly Sohemus, the
ost influential person in the city of Petra.[1] Moreover, he
d tampered with Fabatus, who was Herod's steward, by
ving him a great sum of money to assist him against
erod; but as Herod gave him more, he induced Fabatus
leave Syllæus, and by him demanded of Syllæus all that
ugustus had required him to pay. But when Syllæus paid
othing of what he was to pay, and also accused Fabatus to
ugustus, and said that he was not a steward for Augustus'
tage, but for Herod's, Fabatus was angry with him on
ccount, but was still held in very great esteem by
l, and disclosed Syllæus' secrets, and told the king that
us had corrupted by bribes Corinthus, one of his
-guards, so that he must be on his guard against him.
the king listened to him, for this Corinthus was
ght up in Herod's kingdom, though he was by birth
rabian; and the king ordered him to be arrested im-
diately, and not only him, but two other Arabians,
om he found with him, one of them Syllæus' friend, the
er the head of a tribe. And they, being put to the
ture, confessed that they had bribed Corinthus by the
r of a large sum of money to kill Herod. And when
y had been further examined before Saturninus the
inistrator of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

4. However, Herod did not leave off importuning
roras, but tried to force him to put away his wife;
he could not devise any way by which he could bring
woman herself to punishment, although he had many
sons for hating her, till at last he was so vexed with her,
t he exiled both her and his brother out of his kingdom.
roras took this injury very patiently, and went away to
own tetrarchy, and swore that there should be but one
put to his exile, namely Herod's death, for he would
er return while he was alive. Nor indeed would he

[1] The modern Petra, east of the *'Arabah*. Jewish War, i. 6, § 2.

return when his brother was sick, although Herod earnest sent for him to come to him, because he had a mind leave some injunctions with him before he died; b Herod unexpectedly recovered. And not long afterwar Pheroras himself fell sick, when Herod showed gre forgiveness, for he went to him and took kind care of hi but he could not cure his complaint, for Pheroras died few days afterwards. And although Herod had so gre an affection for him to the last day of his life, yet a repo spread abroad that he had killed him by poison. Howev he took care to have his dead body carried to Jerusalen and ordered the whole nation to mourn for him, an bestowed a most splendid funeral upon him. Such wa the end that one of Alexander's and Aristobulus' murdere came to.

CHAP. XXX.

When Herod made Inquiry about Pheroras' Death, very was made that Antipater had prepared a poi Draught for him. Herod casts out of the Palace and her Accomplices, as also Mariamne, whose son He blots out of his Testament.

§ 1.

AND now vengeance came round to the real crimi Antipater, beginning from the death of Phero For some of Pheroras' freedmen came with a sad cou nance to the king, and told him that his brother had l destroyed by poison, for his wife had brought him so thing prepared in an unusual manner, and upon his ea it he at once fell ill. They said also that her mother sister, two days before, had brought a woman out of Ar that was skilful in mixing drugs, that she might pre a love potion for Pheroras, and instead of a love po she had given him deadly poison at the instigatio Syllæus, who was acquainted with the woman.

§ 2. The king was confounded with many suspici and had the maid-servants tortured, and some of the women also; one of whom cried out in her agony, "

God that governs earth and heaven punish the author all these miseries of ours, Antipater's mother!" The g caught at this confession, and proceeded to inquire ther into the truth of the matter. And this woman closed the friendship of Antipater's mother to Pheroras l his wife,[1] as also their secret meetings, and that Phero- and Antipater spent the whole night drinking with m when they returned from the king, and would not ffer any body, either man-servant or maid-servant, to be esent. It was one of the free women who disclosed all s.

3. Upon this Herod tortured the maid-servants every separately, who all unanimously agreed in the fore- ng disclosures, and that Antipater went to Rome and ras to Peræa by mutual agreement: for they had aid to one another that now Herod had slain Alex- nd Aristobulus, he would fall upon them and upon vives, because, as he had not spared Mariamne and ns, he would spare nobody; and for this reason it est to flee as far from the wild beast as they were They said also that Antipater often lamented his case to his mother, and used to say to her, that he was dy growing grey, while his father seemed to become ger every day, and perhaps death would overtake him ore he should begin to be a real king; and even if Herod r should die (nobody knew when), his own enjoyment the succession would certainly be but for a little time; those Hydra heads, the sons of Alexander and Aristo- us, were growing up. He also said that he was deprived is father of the hopes of being succeeded by his own , for the successor after his death was not to be any of his own sons, but Herod the son of Mariamne; but his point Herod plainly doted, to think that his testa- nt would take effect, for he would take care that not of his posterity should remain. And though Herod was ll fathers the greatest hater of his children, yet did he e his brother still worse, for a little while back he gave n (Antipater) a hundred talents to have no dealings with roras. And when Pheroras said, "Wherein have we

[1] I read *τὴν ἐκείνου γυναῖκα*.

done him any harm?" Antipater replied, "I wish he wo
deprive us of all we have, and leave us naked if only al
But it is indeed impossible to escape this wild beast, wh
so given to murder, who will not permit us to love any per
openly. So we meet together privately, but it will be
sible for us to meet openly too, if we have but the cour
and the hands of men."

§ 4. These things were said by the women who w
tortured, as also that Pheroras intended to flee with th
to Peræa. Now Herod gave credit to all they said,
account of the mention of the hundred talents;
he had spoken about them only to Antipater. So
vented his anger first of all against Antipater's mot
Doris, and took away from her all the ornaments which
had given her, which had cost a great many talent
expelled her from the palace a second time. He al
care of Pheroras' women after their torture, bei
reconciled to them. But he was in great alarm and
ment upon every suspicion, and had many innocent p
dragged to the torture, from fear that he should pa
one guilty person.

§ 5. And now he betook himself to examining Anti
of Samaria, who was the steward of [his son] Antip
and upon torturing him, he learned that Antipater
sent for a potion of deadly poison for him from Egypt,
Antiphilus, a companion of his; and that Theudio,
uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it
Pheroras; for Antipater had charged him to take He
off while he was at Rome, and so free him from the s
picion of doing it himself. He said also that Phe
had committed this potion to his wife. Then did the
send for her, and bade her bring him at once what
had received. And she came out of her house as if
would bring it with her, but threw herself down from
top of the house, in order to prevent the king's examin
her and putting her to the torture; however, it came
pass, as it seems by the providence of God, who intende
bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon
head, but upon other parts of her body, and so was
killed. And the king, when she was brought to
revived her, (for she was stupefied by her fall,) and

why she had thrown herself down, and gave her his h, if she would tell the real truth, that he would excuse from punishment; but if she concealed any thing, he ıld have her body racked to pieces by torture, and allow part of it to be buried.

6. Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said, Vhy do I spare to speak of these secrets, now Pheroras dead, only to save Antipater, who has undone us all? ar then, O king, and be you, and God himself, who ınot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am ıg to say. When you sat weeping by Pheroras as he dying, he then called me to him, and said, 'My wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposi- of my brother towards me, having hated him that is ıffectionate to me, and having conspired to kill him is so troubled for me even before I am dead. As for self, I receive the recompense of my impiety; but do ı bring the poison that was left with us by Antipater for rod, and destroy it immediately in my sight, that I may be also liable to the avenger in Hades.' So I brought s he bade me, and emptied most of it into the fire, but rved a little of it for my own use against the uncertain ure and in dread of you."

7. When she had said this, she brought the box, which a small quantity of this potion in it. Then the king sferred the torture from her to Antiphilus' mother brother, who both confessed that Antiphilus had ıght the box out of Egypt, and that they had received potion from a brother of his who was a doctor at Alex- ria. Then did the manes of Alexander and Aristobulus ıt all the palace, and became the inquisitors and dis- rers of what would not otherwise have been found out, dragged such as were freest from suspicion to exami- ion. And it was discovered that Mariamne, the high st's daughter, was privy to the plot, and her brothers, n they were tortured, declared it to be so. Thereupon king avenged this audacity of the mother upon her son, blotted Herod, his son by her, out of his testament, had been before named therein as successor to Anti- r.

CHAP. XXXI.

Antipater is convicted through Bathyllus, but returns fr Rome without knowing this. Herod brings him to Trial.

§ 1.

AFTER these Bathyllus came under examination, a proved the concluding link in the evidence of An pater's designs. For he was his freedman, and came w another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juic other serpents, that, if the first potion did not do its l ness, Pheroras and his wife might be armed with this against the king. He brought also as an addition to A pater's crimes against his father, some letters which he had written against his brothers, Archelaus and Phi who were the king's sons, and educated at Rome, as yet l but full of spirit. Antipater was anxious to get rid these as soon as he could, that they might not stand in way of his hopes, and to that end he forged letters aga them in the name of his friends at Rome. Some of th he corrupted by bribes to write how much they abu their father, and openly bewailed Alexander and Ari bulus, and were uneasy at their own recall, for their fa had already sent for them, which was the very thing chiefly troubled Antipater.

§ 2. Indeed, while Antipater was still in Judæa, before he went upon his journey to Rome, he gave m to have similar letters against them sent from Rome, then went to his father, who as yet had no suspicio him, and apologized for his brothers, and alleged on t behalf that some of the things contained in those let were false, and others were only the errors of youth. at the same time that he gave a great deal of his mone such as wrote these letters against his brothers, he trie hide the proofs of his great expenses on account of t letters, by buying costly garments and variegated cover and silver and gold cups, and several other treasures, so, among the very great expenses laid out upon such f ture, he might conceal the money he had used in hirin

vrite these letters. For he brought in his expenses as ounting to two hundred talents, his main pretext for ch was the lawsuit he had had with Syllæus. Now ugh all his rogueries, even those of a lesser sort, were overed by his greater villainy, and all the examinations torture proclaimed his attempt to murder his father, as. letters did his second attempt to murder brothers, yet e of those that went to Rome informed him of his mistunes in Judæa, although seven months intervened beeen his conviction and return, so great was the hatred hich all persons bore to him. And perhaps the manes f those brothers of his that had been done to death pped the mouths of those that intended to have told him. any rate he wrote from Rome, announcing the news t he would soon return, and that he was dismissed with our by Augustus.

3. Now the king, being desirous to get this plotter ainst him into his hands, and being also afraid lest he ould some way come to the knowledge of how his affairs od, and so be upon his guard, dissembled his anger in letters to him, and in all respects wrote kindly to n, and desired him to make haste, because if he came ckly, he would lay aside the complaints he had against mother. For Antipater was not ignorant that his ther had been expelled from the palace. He had also ore received a letter at Tarentum,[1] which contained an ount of the death of Pheroras, and he had made very at lamentations at it, for which some sang his praises sidering he really grieved for his uncle; though prooly it was confusion at his having thereby failed in his t, and his tears were more for the loss of him that was have been subservient therein than for Pheroras perally. Moreover, a sort of fear came upon him as to at he had done, lest the poison should have been disered. However, when he was in Cilicia,[2] he received the ementioned letter from his father, and made great haste ordingly. But when he had sailed to Celenderis,[3] a

[1] *Taranto* in Italy. Antiq. xvii. 5, § 1.
[2] Jewish War, i. 21, § 12.
[3] *Kilindria*, on the south coast of Asia Minor, opposite Cyprus. q. xvii. 5, § 1.

suspicion came into his mind as to his mother's misf
tunes, as if his soul foreboded some mischief to hims
Those therefore of his friends who were the most prud
advised him not to meet his father till he had learned clea
what were the reasons why his mother had been expel
from the palace, because they were afraid that some addit
might have been made to the charges against his moth
But those that were less farsighted, and had more reg
to their own desire of seeing their native country than
Antipater's safety, advised him to make haste home, a
not by delaying his journey to afford his father groun
for evil suspicion, and give a handle to those that calumniat
him; for if any thing had now been set a going again
him, it was owing to his absence, for no one durst h
broached any charge against him had he been present. Th
said also that it was absurd to deprive himself of cert
advantages for the sake of uncertain suspicions, and
speedily to return to his father, and take the kingdom, whi
was in a state of oscillation on his account only. Antipat
listened to this (for the deity urged him on), so he cross
over the sea, and landed at Sebastus,[1] the haven of Cæsar

§ 4. And here he found a perfect and unexpected s
tude, for every body avoided him, and nobody durst co
near him; for he was hated equally by all men, and n
that hatred had liberty to show itself. The dread a
that men were in of the king's anger made many n
keep aloof from him; for the whole city was filled w
rumours about Antipater, and Antipater himself was
only person who was ignorant of the state of his affairs. A
as no man was ever sent out more magnificently when
sailed for Rome, so no man was ever received back w
greater ignominy. And indeed he began already to susp
his danger at home, but he cunningly concealed his sus
cions; and while he was inwardly ready to die for fear,
put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor could
now flee any longer, nor had he any way of escape from t
difficulties which surrounded him, nor indeed had he e
on the spot any certain intelligence of the affairs of the r
family, because of the threats of the king *against any*

[1] Compare Antiq. xvii. 5, § 1.

vealed to him the true state of affairs. The only ray of hope at comforted him was that perhaps nothing had been dis-covered, or, if any discovery had been made, that perhaps he would be able to clear himself by impudence and artful tricks, which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

§ 5. With these hopes did he fortify himself, and went to the palace without any friends with him; for these were insulted and shut out at the first gate. Now Varus, the governor of Syria, happened to be in the palace; and Antipater went in to his father, and, putting on a bold face, came near as if to salute him. But Herod stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, "Even this is the action of a parricide, to be de-rous to embrace me, when he is under such heavy accusa-

A murrain on thee, vile wretch! do not touch me, ou hast cleared thyself of the crimes that are charged thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be ed, and Varus, who is very seasonably here, to be judge. Go, and get thy defence ready against to-rrow; for I give thee so much time to prepare suitable uses for thy knavish tricks." At this reception Anti-ter was in such consternation that he was able to make answer, but went away silent. And when his mother l wife came to him, and told him of all the evidence inst him, he came to himself again, and considered at defence he should make.

CHAP. XXXII.

tipater is accused before Varus, and is convicted of plotting gainst his Father by the strongest Evidence. Herod puts ff his Punishment till his own recovery from illness, and, n the mean time, alters his Testament.

§ 1.

he following day the king assembled a court of kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater's lso. Now Herod sat beside Varus, and ordered

all the witnesses to be brought in; among whom som of the domestic servants of Antipater's mother wer brought in also, who had but a little while before been arrested, as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son: "Since all those things have been already discovered by thy father, do not come near him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Augustus." When these and the other witnesses had been brought in Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said, "Father, I beseech you not to condemn me unheard, but let your ears be unbiassed, and attend to my defence; for if you will give me leave, I will prove that I am innocent."

§ 2. Thereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spoke as follows to Varus. "I cannot but think tha thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will dete that Antipater is a vile wretch. I am also afraid that wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also dese of every calamity, for begetting such sons. And y ought rather to be pitied, who have been so affectionat father to such wretched sons. For when I had settled t succession to the kingdom on my former sons, even wh they were young, and when, besides the charges of th education at Rome, I had made them the friends of t emperor, and objects of envy to other kings, I found th plotting against me, and they were put to death, mai for the sake of Antipater. For as he was then young, a appointed to be my successor, I took care chiefly to sec him from danger. But this accursed wild beast, when had been gorged with the patience which I showed hi turned his insolence against me. For I seemed to him live too long, and he was very uneasy at the old age I h arrived at; nor would he be any longer a king but by p ricide. And justly am I served by him for bringing h to court from the country, where he was held in no este and for thrusting out those sons of mine that had a qu for their mother, and for making him a successor t throne. I confess to thee, O Varus, the great folly guilty of. I provoked those sons of mine to act aga having cut off their just expectations for the sake pater. And indeed what kindness did I do to th

could equal what I have done to Antipater? to whom I have almost yielded up my royal authority during my lifetime, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my testament, and given him a yearly revenue of his own of fifty talents, and supplied him with very large sums of money out of my own revenue; and when he sailed to Rome recently, I gave him three hundred talents, and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to the emperor, as his father's deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of mine guilty of like these of Antipater? or what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to prove that this son plotted against me? Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to hide the truth again by his cunning tricks. Thou, [redacted]rus, must guard thyself against him; for I know the beast, and I foresee how plausibly he will talk and terfeit lamentation. He it was who exhorted me to e a care of Alexander when he was alive, and not to in- ist my body to everybody! He it was who came to my ry bed, and looked about lest any one should lay snares r me! He it was who took care of my sleep, and secured e from anxiety, who comforted me in the trouble I was at the death of my sons, and tested the affection of s surviving brothers! He was my protector, and the ardian of my body! And when I call to mind, Varus, s craftiness upon every occasion, and his dissembling, I n hardly believe that I am still alive, and wonder how have escaped from such a deep plotter. But since some d or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually ises up those that are dearest to me against me, I will h tears lament my hard fate, and privately groan under lonely condition; but no one who thirsts after my d shall escape punishment, although the evidence ld extend to all my sons."

3. As Herod was saying this, he was interrupted by distress of mind he was in; so he ordered Nicolaus, one is friends, to produce the evidence. But meantime Anti- r lifted up his head, (for he lay on the ground where he thrown himself before his father's feet,) and cried out , "Thou, O father, hast made my defence for me; for an I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to

have always had for thy guardian? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious hypocrisy. How then could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should here be so mad as not to understand that it was not easy that he who contrived so horrid a crime should be concealed from men, and impossible that he should be concealed from the judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is present every where? Did I not know what end my brothers came to, on whom God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee? And, indeed, what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee? Could the hope of being a king do it? I was a king already. Could I suspect hatred from thee? Was I not beloved by thee? And what other fear of thee could I have? Moreover, by preserving thee safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money? Who was ab[illegible] expend so much as myself? Indeed, father, had I [illegible] the most abominable of all mankind, and had I had [illegible] soul of some savage wild beast, must I not have been o[illegible] come by thy benefits, seeing that, as thou thyself saye[illegible] thou broughtest me back from exile, and didst prefer [illegible] to so many of thy sons, and madest me a king in thi[illegible] own lifetime, and by the other vast advantages thou b[illegible] stowedst on me, madest me an object of envy? O wretch[illegible] man that I am for my bitter absence, which afford[illegible] such a great opportunity for envy, and long interval f[illegible] such as were plotting against me! But I was abse[illegible] father, for thee and on thy affairs, that Syllæus might n[illegible] treat thee with contempt in thine old age. Rome is a w[illegible] ness to my filial affection, and so is Augustus the ruler the world, who often called me a lover of my father.[1] Ta[illegible] the letters he has sent thee, father, they are more to [illegible] believed than the calumnies raised here; these letters [illegible] my only defence, these I use as proofs of the nat[illegible] affection I have to thee. Remember that it was aga[illegible] my own choice that I sailed [to Rome,] knowing the la[illegible] hatred that was in the kingdom against me. It was t[illegible] O father, however unwillingly, who hast been my ruin[illegible] forcing me to allow time for envy to sow calumnies aga[illegible] me. However, I am here, and am ready to hear[illegible]

[1] Philopator in the Greek.

evidence there is against me. If I am a parricide, I have travelled over land and sea, without suffering any misfortune on either of them: but this argument is no advantage to me. For it seems, father, that I am already condemned, both before God and before thee; and as I am already condemned, I beg that thou wilt not believe the others that have been tortured, but let fire be brought to torment me; let the racks go through my bowels. Have no regard to any lamentations that this accursed body can make; for if I am a parricide, I ought not to die without torture." Such words did Antipater cry out with lamentation and weeping, and moved Varus and all the rest to pity. Herod was the only person whose rage was too strong to permit him to weep, knowing that the evidence [illegible]nst Antipater was true.

4. And now it was, that at the king's command, [illegible]laus, when he had premised a great deal about the [illegible]tiness of Antipater, and had so toned down their pity [illegible]im, afterwards brought a bitter accusation against him, [illegible]scribing all the wickedness that had been in the kingdom [illegible]o him, especially the murder of his brothers, demonstrating [illegible]hat they had perished because of the calumnies he had [illegible]ised against them. He also said that he had intrigued [illegible]gainst those that were still alive, as if they were aiming [illegible]t the succession: for how could it be supposed that he [illegible]who prepared poison for his father, would abstain from [illegible]is brothers? He then proceeded to bring home to him [illegible]e attempt to poison Herod, and gave an account in order [illegible] the several discoveries that had been made, and was [illegible]ry wroth as to the affair of Pheroras, because Antipater [illegible]ad tried to make him murder his brother, and had cor[illegible]ed those that were dearest to the king, and had filled [illegible]whole palace with guilt. And when he had said many [illegible]r things and proved them he left off.

5. Then Varus bade Antipater make his defence, but he [illegible]n the ground silent, and said no more but this, "God [illegible]y witness that I am entirely innocent." So Varus [illegible]l for the potion, and gave it to a condemned male[illegible]r, who was then in prison, to drink. And he having [illegible]upon the spot, Varus, after a private conversation with [illegible]d. when he had written an account of this trial to

Augustus, went away the day after. And the king put Antipater in bonds, and sent people to inform Augustus of the case.

§ 6. After this it was discovered that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome also; for one of Antiphilus' domestics came, and brought letters from Rome from a maid-servant of Julia, whose name was Acme. By her it was written to the king, that she had found a letter written by Salome among Julia's papers, and had sent it him privately out of good-will to him. This letter of Salome's contained most bitter reproaches against the king, and the greatest accusations against him. Antipater had forged this letter, and had corrupted Acme, and persuaded her to send it to Herod. This was proved by her letter to Antipater, for thus did this woman write to him: thou desiredst, I have written a letter to thy father, have sent that letter, and am persuaded that the will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wil well to remember what thou hast promised, when a accomplished."

§ 7. When this letter was discovered, and the forge letter against Salome, a suspicion came into the king's mind that perhaps the letters against Alexande had also be forged. He was moreover greatly disturbed and enraged because he had almost slain his sister owing to Antipater He did not intend therefore any longer to delay to brin him to punishment for all his crimes; but as he was going t proceed against Antipater, he was restrained by a severe il ness. However, he sent an account about Acme, and the co spiracy against Salome, to Augustus; he sent also for his ov testament, and altered it, and therein made Antipas kin passing over his eldest sons, Archelaus and Philip, bec Antipater had blasted their reputations with him; an bequeathed to Augustus, besides other presents tha gave him, a thousand talents, and to his wife and chil and friends, and freedmen, about five hundred talents also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of lan money, and showed his respect to Salome his sist giving her most splendid gifts. Such were the ch which he made in his testament.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Golden Eagle is cut to pieces. Herod's barbarity when on the point of death. He attempts to kill himself. He commands Antipater to be slain. He survives him Five Days, and then dies.

§ 1.

NOW Herod's illness became more and more severe, because various ailments fell upon him in his old age and dejected condition; for he was already almost seventy years of age, and was depressed at the calamities that had happened to him about his children, so that he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health. The grief also that Antipater was still alive aggravated his disease, and he resolved to have him put to death not now at random, but publicly executed as soon as he himself should be well again.

§ 2. There also now happened to him, among his other troubles, a certain rising of the people. There were two men of learning in the city of Jerusalem, who were thought most skilful in the laws of their country, and were on that account held in very great esteem by all the nation: one was Judas, the son of Sepphoræus, and the other was Matthias the son of Margalus. There was a great concourse of the young men to these men, as they expounded the laws, and there got together every day a kind of army of such as were growing up to be men. Now when these men were informed that the king was now wasting away with melancholy and disease, they dropped words to their friends that it was now a very proper time to defend the house of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country. For it was unlawful that there should be any such thing in the temple as images, busts, or the representation of any living thing whatever. For the king had put a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which these learned men exhorted them to cut down, and told them, if any danger should arise, that it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country;

for immortality of soul and eternal enjoyment of happine would await those that died so; while the mean-spirite and those that were not wise enough to show a right lo of their souls, preferred death by disease to death as tl result of virtue.

§ 3. At the same time that these men made th speech to their disciples, the rumour spread abroad th the king was dying, which made the young men set abo the work with greater boldness. They therefore let ther selves down from the top of the temple with thick cords midday, when a great number of people were in tl temple, and cut down the golden eagle with axes. Th was announced at once to the king's captain, who can running up with a great body of soldiers, and arrested abo forty of the young men, and brought them to the ki And when he asked them first if they had been so bol to cut down the golden eagle, they confessed that they done so: and when he asked them next by whose comm they had done so, they replied, at the command of the of their country. And when he asked them further ho they could be so jubilant when they were to be put to deat they replied, because they would enjoy greater happines after they were dead.

§ 4. At this the king was in such a rage that he over- came his disease [for the time,] and went out and spok to the people, and made a terrible accusation against thos men, as being guilty of sacrilege, and as having greate ideas in view under pretext of their law, and he though they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Ther upon the people were afraid lest a great number should found guilty, and begged that when he had first punishe those that had suggested this work, and then those that we caught at it, he would leave off his anger as to the With this the king complied, though not readily, ordered those that had let themselves down from the te with cords, as also the learned men, to be burnt alive delivered the rest that had been arrested to the officers to put to death.

§ 5. After this the disease seized upon Herod's body, and racked all his members with various c cations. For there was a great fever upon him, a

le itching over all the surface of his body, and
pains in his colon, and dropsical swellings in his
an inflammation in his abdomen, and a putre-
hat produced worms in his privy member. He
a difficulty in breathing, and could not breathe
n he sat upright, and was convulsed in all his
, insomuch that the diviners said these various
ions were a punishment upon him for what he had
he learned men. But he struggled against his
complaints, and still had a desire to live and hope
y, and thought of several methods of cure.
ly, he crossed the Jordan, and used those hot
Callirrhoe,[1] which run into the lake Asphal-
are sweet and drinkable. And here the phy-
ought proper to bathe his whole body in warm
tting it down into a large vessel full of oil,
n his eyes failed him, and he rolled them as if
lying. And as a cry was then made by his
e revived again at their voice, but afterwards
of recovery, and gave orders that each soldier
e fifty drachmæ apiece, and that his com-
d friends should have great sums of money

then returned to Jericho,[3] and arrived there
l, and almost threatened death itself, for he
attempt horrid wickedness. For he got
most illustrious men out of every village
ea into a place called the Hippodrome,
ut them in. He then called for his sister
her husband Alexas, and made the following
em: "I know well enough that the Jews will
val of my death; but I may be mourned for
unts, and have a splendid funeral, if you will
my commands. Do you but take care to send
round those men that are now in custody, and
mmediately upon my death, and then all Judæa

rings in the *Wâdy Zerka Ma'în*, east of the *Dead Sea*.

. Antiq. i. 9; iv. 5, § 1; xvii. 6, § 5. Jewish War,
§ 4.

ish War, i. 15, § 6.

and every family in it will weep unwilling tear death."

§ 7. These were the commands he gave them, wh came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, where mation was given that Acme had been put to deat gustus' command, and that Antipater was cond death; however, they wrote also that if Herod ha rather to banish him, Augustus permitted him And Herod for a little while revived, and had a live; but afterwards he was overcome by his p distracted by want of food and by a convulsive c endeavoured to anticipate death; so he took an asked for a knife, for he used to pare his app eating them; he then looked round to see that nobody to hinder him, and lifted up his right han would stab himself. But Achiabus, his cousin, him, and held his hand, and hindered him from Immediately a very great lamentation was rais palace, as if the king had expired; and as soo Antipater heard that, he took courage, and with looks besought his keepers, for a sum of mon him and let him go. But the principal ke prison did not only prevent that, but ran and t what his design was. Thereupon the king cried than his disease would well bear, and imme some of his body-guards and had Antipater sla gave orders to have him buried at Hyrcanium,[1] his testament again, and therein made Archela son, and the brother of Antipas,) his successo Antipas tetrarch.

§ 8. Herod survived the death of Antipat days, having reigned thirty-four years since h Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his ki it was thirty-seven years since he had bee by the Romans. As for his fortune, it was all other respects, if ever any man's was, seei a private man he obtained a kingdom, and ke and left it to his own sons; but in his dome was a most unfortunate man. Now before

[1] Antiq. xvii. 7; Jewish War, i. 8, §

w of Herod's death, Salome and her husband came out
l set free those that were in bonds, whom the king had
manded to be slain, and said that he had altered his
d, and would have every one of them sent to their own
es. When they were gone, Salome then told the
rs of the king's death, and assembled them and the
f the multitude in the amphitheatre in Jericho, where
ny, who was intrusted by the king with his signet-
came before them, and passed a eulogy on the late
and comforted the multitude, and read the letter
had been left for the soldiers, wherein Herod
estly exhorted them to bear good-will to his successor.
after he had read this letter, he opened and read
d's testament, by which Philip was to inherit Tracho-
and the neighbouring countries, and Antipas was to
trarch, as I said before, and Archelaus was made king.
helaus was also commanded to carry Herod's ring to
ustus, and the settlements made about the kingdom
d up, for Augustus was to be lord of all the settlements
d had made, and was to confirm his testament. As
ll other matters, Herod ordered that they were to be as
is former testaments.

9. At once acclamation was made congratulating
helaus, and the soldiers went round in bands with the
ltitude, and promised him their good-will, and also
yed God to bless him. After this they betook them-
es to the king's funeral; and Archelaus spared no ex-
se, but brought out all the royal ornaments to add to
pomp of the funeral. The bier was of solid gold, set
precious stones, and on it was a purple bed richly
roidered, and upon it lay the corpse covered with a
ple pall, and a diadem was put upon the head, and a
wn of gold above it, and a sceptre in the right hand.
d round the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of
s kindred; next to whom came his body-guards, and the
regiment of Thracians, also the Germans and Galati, all
accoutred as if they were marching to war. And the rest
of the army went in advance, armed, and following their
captains and officers in order; and after them five hundred

[1] Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

of Herod's domestics and freedmen followed bearing sw spices. And the body was carried two hundred furlo to Herodium,[1] where Herod had given orders to be bur Such was the end of the life of Herod.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF SIXTY-NINE YEARS.— THE DEATH OF HEROD TILL VESPASIAN IS SENT BY N TO SUBDUE THE JEWS.

CHAP. I.

Archelaus makes a funeral Feast for the People on accou Herod. After this a great Tumult is raised by the titude, and Archelaus sends the Soldiers out upon t who destroy about three Thousand of them.

§ 1.

NOW the necessity which Archelaus was in of journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances. when he had mourned for his father seven days, and given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude, (wh custom causes poverty to many of the Jews, because t are forced to feast the multitude, for if any one omits it, is not esteemed a holy person,) he put on a white garm and went up to the temple, where the people received with various acclamations. He also spoke kindly to multitude from an elevated seat and throne of gold, returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown at father's funeral, and the court they had paid to himself, if he were already sure to be king. However, he told them, he would not at present take upon him either the authority or title of king, until Augustus, who was constituted lord of the whole affair by Herod's testament, confirmed his succession; for when the soldiers would

[1] *Jebel Furaidis.* Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not t of it. He said, however, that he would make abun- return, not only to the soldiers, but also to the people, heir zeal and good-will to him, when those in power ld give him a complete title to the kingdom; for it ld be his aim to show himself in all points better than father.

2. Upon this the multitude were pleased, and at once ade trial of his intentions by great requests. For some ade a clamour that he would ease them in their taxes, hers that he would take off the duties upon commo- ties, and some that he would set free those that were in ison. In all these cases he assented readily, to get the od-will of the multitude; after which he offered sacri- e, and feasted with his friends. Thereupon a great many those that desired innovation gathered together in wds towards the evening, and began to mourn on their n account, when the public mourning for the king was r, and lamented those that had been put to death by rod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that been over the gate of the temple. Nor was this rning of a subdued nature, but the lamentations were ing, the mourning prearranged, and the weeping such as loudly heard all over the city, as for men who said had perished for the laws of their country, and he temple. They also cried out that punishment ought e inflicted in their behalf upon those that had been ured by Herod; and that first the man whom Herod made high priest ought to be deposed, for it was right oose a person of greater piety and purity for that office.

3. At these clamours Archelaus was provoked, but ained himself from taking vengeance, because of the t necessity of going to Rome, fearing, if he excited the hostility of the people, that he might be detained at home by an *émeute*. Accordingly, he tried to quiet the innovators by persuasion rather than force, and sent his general privately to them, and exhorted them to be quiet. But the riotous threw stones at him, and drove him away, as he entered the temple, before he could say any thing to them; and those who came to them after him to try and bring them to reason (for many were sent by

Archelaus) they answered on all occasions in a passi manner, and it plainly appeared that they would n quiet, if their numbers became considerable. And in at the feast of Unleavened Bread, which was now at (and is by the Jews called the Passover, and is celebr with a great number of sacrifices), an innumerable nu of the people came out of the country to worship: some of them stood in the temple bewailing the lear men [that had been put to death by Herod,] seeking to fa the sedition. At this Archelaus was afraid, and secretly se a tribune and cohort of soldiers against them, before th disaffection should spread among the whole multitude, an gave orders that they should constrain by force those th began the tumult to be quiet. At their arrival the wh multitude were irritated, and threw stones at the soldie and killed most of them, and the tribune fled away wounde and had much ado to escape. After this they betook tho selves to their sacrifices, as if nothing of importance h happened. However, it did not appear to Archelaus t the multitude could now be restrained without bloodsh so he sent his whole army against them, the foot *en m* through the city, and the horse by way of the plain; they, falling upon them on the sudden, as they were o ing their sacrifices, slew about three thousand of them, dispersed the rest of the multitude upon the adjoi mountains. And Archelaus' heralds followed and manded every one to retire to their own homes, so the went off and left the feast.

CHAP. II.

Archelaus goes to Rome with a great Number of his Kin He is there accused before Augustus by Antipater; but gets the better of his Accusers, owing to the defence which Nicolaus made for him.

§ 1.

ARCHELAUS went down to the sea-side with his mother and friends Poplas and Ptolemy and Nicolaus, and left Philip behind him, to manage the palace and

his domestic affairs. Salome also went with him, l also her sons and the king's brothers and connec- by marriage, ostensibly to give him all the assistance were able to secure his succession, but in reality to se him for his breach of the laws in what he had done he temple.

2. And when they were come to Cæsarea,[1] Sabinus, the ernor of Syria, met them, who was going up to Judæa secure Herod's effects. But Varus, who had arrived re, having been sent for by Archelaus through Pto- ny, restrained him from going any further. At this ne indeed, to gratify Varus, Sabinus neither hastened to the citadels, nor did he shut up from Archelaus the treasuries where his father's money was laid up, but pro- mised that he would do nothing till Augustus should have decided about affairs. So he abode at Cæsarea. But as soon as those that could hinder him were gone, when Varus had gone to Antioch,[2] and Archelaus had sailed to Rome, he quickly went up to Jerusalem, and occupied the palace. And when he had sent for the governors of the citadels, and the controllers of the king's household, he tried to sift out the money accounts, and take possession of the citadels. But the governors of those citadels did not neglect the commands laid upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard them, saying that the guard of them belonged rather to Augustus than to Archelaus.

§ 3. Meantime Antipas also went to Rome to lay claim to the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named king, was more valid than the latter testament. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of his kindred who sailed with Archelaus. He also took with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, who seemed one of great weight, on account of the trust Herod placed in him, he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Irenæus the orator, owing to his eloquence, upon whose advice he had rejected such as had advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him.

[1] *Kaisariych.* [2] *Antakia*, on the Orontes.

The favour also of Archelaus' kindred, who hated hi
shifted to Antipas, when they came to Rome. For t
every one much preferred living under their own
under a Roman governor; yet if they should fail in
point, they wished that Antipas might be king.

§ 4. Sabinus also afforded them his assistance for
purpose by the letters he sent, wherein he accused Arch
to Augustus, and highly commended Antipas. Salome
her party also drew up their charges against Archel
and put them into Augustus' hands; and after they
done that, Archelaus wrote down the main points of
claim, and sent in by Ptolemy his father's ring and
counts. And when Augustus had first weighed by him-
self the claims of both, as also the size of the kingdom, and
large amount of the revenues, and also the numerous off-
spring Herod had left behind him, and had also read the
letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on the
matter, he assembled a council of the principal Romans (in
which Caius, the son of Agrippa and his own daughter
Julia, whom he had adopted as his own son, sat in the first
seat), and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

§ 5. Then stood up Salome's son Antipater, (who of all
Archelaus' antagonists was the cleverest speaker,) and ac-
cused him as follows. He said that Archelaus did in words
lay claim to the kingdom, but had in deed long exercised
royal authority, and so did but insult Augustus in desiring
to be now heard on that account; since he had not waited
for his determination about the succession, but suborned
certain persons after Herod's death to move for putting the
diadem upon his head, and had sat on the throne and acted
as a king, and altered the arrangements of the army, and
granted to some higher dignities, and had also complied in
all things with the people in the requests they had made to
him as to their king, and had also set free those that had
been put in bonds by his father for most important rea-
sons, and now, after all this, he came to ask of his lord the
shadow of that royal authority, whose substance he had
already seized for himself, and so made Augustus lord, not
of things, but of words. He also reproached him further,
that his mourning for his father was only pretended, as he
put on a sad countenance in the day-time, but drank to

great excess by night, which behaviour, he said, caused the late disturbance among the multitude, for they were indignant thereat. And indeed the purport of his whole discourse was to aggravate Archelaus' crime in slaying such a multitude about the temple, for they came to the feast, but were barbarously slain in the midst of their own sacrifices; and he said there was such a vast number of dead bodies heaped together in the temple, as even a foreign and implacable war could not have heaped together. And he added, that it was the foreknowledge his father Herod had of his barbarity, which made him never give him any hopes of the kingdom, except when his mind was more infirm than his body, and he was not able to reason soundly, and did not remember whom he nominated in his second testament as his successor; and this was done by him at a time when he had no complaints to make of him whom he had nominated before, when he was sound in body, and when his mind was free from all disorder. If, however, any one should suppose Herod's judgment, when he was ill, was superior to his judgment at another time, yet had Archelaus forfeited the kingdom by his behaviour, and by actions contrary to the law, and to the disadvantage of the realm. For what sort of a king would he be, if he obtained the kingdom from Augustus, who had slain so many before he had obtained it?

§ 6. When Antipater had spoken much to this purpose, and had produced a great number of his kindred as witnesses to prove every part of the accusation, he ended his discourse. Then Nicolaus stood up to plead for Archelaus. He argued that the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided; for those that were slain were enemies not only to the kingdom but also to Augustus, who was to determine about him. He also showed that Archelaus' accusers had advised him to perpetrate other things of which he was accused. Moreover he insisted that the latter testament should chiefly be esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Augustus as the person who should confirm the succession. For he who showed such sense as to yield up his own power to the lord of the world, could not be supposed mistaken in his judgment about him that was to be his heir; and he that so

well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession, could not be unacquainted with the character of him whom he chose for his successor.

§ 7. When Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came up gently and fell down at Augustus' knees. Upon which he raised him up in a very kind manner, and declared that he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he made no determination in the case; but when he had dismissed those assessors that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself as to what he had heard, whether it were fit to appoint any of those named in the various testaments as Herod's successor, or whether Herod's dominions should be parted among all his posterity, for a number of persons seemed to stand in need of support.

CHAP. III.

The Jews fight a great Battle with Sabinus' Soldiers, and a great Destruction is made at Jerusalem.

§ 1.

NOW before Augustus had come to any determination about these affairs, Archelaus' mother Malthace fell sick and died. Letters also were brought out of Syria from Varus about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, after Archelaus had sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain its promoters, since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest; and he left at Jerusalem one of the three legions which he had brought with him out of Syria, and himself returned to Antioch. But Sabinus went there after he was gone, and gave them a pretext for making innovations; for he compelled the keepers of the citadels to deliver them up to him, and made a strict search for the king's money, for depending not only on the soldiers who were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own slaves, all of whom he armed, and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that feast, which was observed after seven weeks, was at hand, which the Jews call Pentecost, its name being taken from the number of days

after the Passover, the people assembled together, not on account of their accustomed worship, but from their indignation. For an immense multitude came together from Galilee and Idumæa[1] and Jericho,[2] and from Peræa[3] beyond the Jordan. But the people that naturally belonged to Judæa itself exceeded the rest both in numbers and zeal. And they divided themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places, one at the north side of the temple, another at the south side by the Hippodrome,[4] and the third at the palace[5] on the west. And they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

§ 2. Now Sabinus was afraid both of their numbers and courage, and sent frequent messengers to Varus, and besought him to come to his succour quickly, for if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces; and he himself got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phasaelus,[6] and was so called after Herod's brother who was killed by the Parthians, and from thence he made signs to the soldiers of the legion to attack the enemy; for his alarm was so great that he durst not go down to his own men. And the soldiers obeyed and rushed forward into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews; in which, while there were none above them to gall them, they had the best of it from their skill, and the others' want of skill, in war; but when once many of the Jews had got up to the top of the porticoes, and threw their darts downwards upon the heads of the Romans, a great many of them were slain. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from above, nor to stand the attack of those who fought them hand to hand.

§ 3. As, therefore, the Romans were sorely galled by both these, they set fire to the porticoes, which were works

[1] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6. [2] *er-Rîha.*

[3] Peræa extended from Pella in the north to Machærus in the south. Antiq. xvii. 8, § 1; 11, § 4. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 4; iii. 3, § 3; iv. 7, § 3.

[4] The Hippodrome appears to have been to the south of the Double Gate in the *Haram* Wall at Jerusalem.

[5] That is, Herod's palace near the *Jaffa* Gate.

[6] The present 'Tower of David.'

to be admired both for their size and costliness. Thereupon those that were on them were suddenly wrapped in flames, and many of them perished therein; many of them also were cut to pieces by the enemy, as they leapt upon them; some of them also threw themselves down from the walls behind, and some in the desperate condition they were in anticipated the fire by killing themselves with their own swords. And as many of them as crept down from the walls, and rushed upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them, because of the panic they were in, until at last some of the Jews being slain, and others dispersed from the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, of which Sabinus got all that was not stolen by the soldiers.

§ 4. Now this destruction of their porticoes and men made a much greater number of Jews, and those of the more warlike sort, to oppose the Romans; and they surrounded the palace, and threatened to destroy all that were in it, unless they went away quickly; for they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would depart with his legion. Most also of the king's party deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews. However, the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand men of Sebaste,[1] went over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same, (Gratus having the foot of the king's party under him, and Rufus the horse,) each of whom, even without the forces under them, were of great weight, on account of their courage and wisdom, to turn the scales in war. Now the Jews persevered in the siege, and tried to break down the walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus and his party to depart, and not to prove a hindrance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover the autonomy that their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus indeed would have been well contented to get out of the danger he was in, but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected such gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for him; this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succour from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.

[1] *Sebustieh.*

CHAP. IV.

Herod's Veterans mutiny. The Robberies of Judas. Simon and Athrongæus take the name of King upon them.

§ 1.

AT this time there were great disturbances throughout the country in many places, and the opportunity that now offered itself induced many to set up for kings. In Idumæa indeed two thousand of Herod's veterans banded together, and armed themselves, and fought against those of the king's party; against whom the king's cousin Achiabus fought, making the places that were most strongly fortified the base of his operations, and avoiding battle with the enemy in the plains. In Sepphoris[1] also, a city of Galilee, one Judas (the son of the arch-robber Ezekias, who formerly overran the country, and had been subdued by king Herod) got no small multitude together, and broke into the royal armouries, and armed those about him, and attacked those that desired to get power.

§ 2. In Peræa also Simon, one of the king's slaves, relying upon his handsome appearance and tall stature, put a diadem upon his head, and went about with a band of robbers that he had got together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides, and procured himself spoil very easily by snatching it out of the fire. And he would soon have burnt down every handsome building, if Gratus, the captain of the king's foot, had not taken the Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met him in battle, when great numbers of his foot were slain. Gratus also intercepted Simon himself, as he was fleeing along a steep ravine, and gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he fled, and cut his head off. The royal palace also that was near the Jordan at Betharamathus[2] was burnt down by some of the other rebels from Peræa.

§ 3. At this time a certain shepherd called Athrongæus

[1] *Sefûrieh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

[2] *Tell Rûmeh.* The Beth-Haram of Josh. xiii. 27. Antiq. xviii. 2, § 1; xiv. 1, § 4 (Livias). Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1 (Julias).

ventured to set himself up for a king. It was his strength of body that suggested to him the hope of such a dignity as well as his soul which despised death; and, besides these qualifications, he had four brothers who were as brave as himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of his brothers, and made use of them as his generals and satraps to make incursions, while he himself like a king meddled only with the more important affairs. And at this time he put a diadem on his head, and continued afterwards to overrun the country for no little time with his brothers, and became their leader in killing both the Romans and those of the king's party, nor did any Jew escape him, if any gain could accrue to him thereby. He once ventured to surround a whole troop of Romans at Emmaus,[1] who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion. And his men shot the arrows and darts, and slew the centurion Arius and four of the bravest men, but the rest of them who were in danger of the same fate escaped, as Gratus and the men of Sebaste came up to their assistance. And when these men had thus harassed both their own countrymen and foreigners during the whole war, three of them were after some time subdued, the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemy, and the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for security. However, this end did not befall them till afterwards; and at present they filled all Judæa with a guerilla war.

CHAP. V.

Varus composes the Tumults in Judæa, and crucifies about two thousand of the Riotous.

§ 1.

UPON Varus' reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and his officers, he could not but be afraid for the whole legion, and resolved to hasten to their relief. So he took with him the other two legions, with the four

[1] Emmaus-Nicopolis, *'Amwâs.* Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

troops of horse belonging to them, and marched to Ptolemais;[1] having given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there. Moreover, he received from the people of Berytus,[2] as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arabian, (who, from the hatred he bore Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot,) Varus sent a part of his army at once to Galilee, which was near Ptolemais, with Caius one of his friends as its commander, who put those that met him to flight, and took the city of Sepphoris,[3] and burnt it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. As for Varus himself, he marched to Samaria[4] with his whole army, and did not meddle with that city, because he found that it had made no commotion during these troubles, but pitched his camp near a certain village which was called Arus:[5] which belonged to Ptolemy, and on that account was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even with Herod's friends also. He thence marched on to Sampho,[6] another fortified village, which they plundered as they had done the other, and carried off all the money they found that belonged to the public revenues. And all was now full of fire and bloodshed, and nothing could resist the plundering of the Arabians. Emmaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, at the command of Varus, in his rage at the slaughter of Arius and those that were with him.

§ 2. Varus marched on thence to Jerusalem, and as soon as he and his army were but seen by the Jews, he dispersed their force, for they retired and fled up the country. But the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having had any hand in the revolt, and said, that they had raised no commotion, but had been forced to admit the multitude because of the festival, and had rather been besieged with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the cousin of Achelaus, and Gratus and Rufus, who led the men of Sebaste,[7] and

[1] *'Akka, St. Jean d'Acre.* [2] *Beirût.* Jewish War, i. 21, § 11.
[3] *Sefûrieh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 5. [4] *Sebustieh.*
[5] Antiq. xvii. 10, § 9. [6] Antiq. xvii. 10, § 9.
[7] Samaria, *Sebustieh.*

the king's army; there also met him those of the Roman legion armed in their accustomed manner. As for Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus' sight, but had gone out of the city before this to the seaside. And Varus sent a part of his army into the country against those that had been the authors of this commotion, and great numbers were captured, and those that appeared to have had least concern in these tumults he merely put into prison, but such as were the most guilty he crucified to the number of about two thousand.

§ 3. He was also informed that there still remained ten thousand men in arms in Idumæa. And as he found that the Arabians did not act like allies, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country against his wish from their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, and pushed on with his own legions against those that had revolted. And they, at the advice of Achiabus, surrendered to him before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the men their offences, but sent their leaders to Augustus to be examined by him. And Augustus forgave the rest, but gave orders that certain of the king's relations (for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen) should be put to death, because they had engaged in war against a king of their own family. When, therefore, Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem in this manner, and had left the legion formerly there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

CHAP. VI.

The Jews greatly complain of Archelaus, and desire that they may be made a Roman Province. And when Augustus had heard what they had to say, he distributed Herod's Dominions among his Sons, according to his own pleasure.

§ 1.

AND now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which was made by those ambassadors, who before the revolt had come, at Varus' per-

ission, to plead for the autonomy of their nation; those at came were only fifty in number, but more than eight housand of the Jews at Rome supported them. And hen Augustus had assembled a council of the principal omans and his friends in Apollo's temple on the Palatine ill (which he had himself built and adorned at vast ex-nse) the multitude of the Jews stood with these fifty mbassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus with s friends. As for the friends of the kindred of Archelaus, ey stood on neither side; for their hatred and envy of m would not let them stand on Archelaus' side, and they re afraid to be seen by Augustus among his accusers. Be-les these Archelaus' brother Philip was present, who had en sent on out of kindness by Varus for two reasons, one o assist Archelaus, and the other, in case Augustus should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among all his posterity, that he might obtain some share of it.

§ 2. And now, upon permission being given the accusers to speak, they first detailed Herod's various lawless acts, and said that they had not had to endure a king, but the most barbarous of all tyrants that ever lived. For when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries, that they considered those that were dead happy men; for he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities. He had also scandalously treated the cities of his own country, while he had adorned those that belonged to foreigners, and had shed the blood of Jews to gratify strangers; and had filled the nation full of poverty and the greatest lawlessness, instead of that happiness and those laws which it had anciently enjoyed. In short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod in a few years, than their forefathers had during all the interval of time that had passed since they had returned home from Babylon in the reign of Xerxes. However, the nation had come to so low a condition, by being inured to ill treatment, that they submitted to a self-imposed continuance of bitter slavery. Accordingly, though he was the son of so great a tyrant, they readily hailed Archelaus as king, after the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and prayed for his succession.

But he, lest he should be in danger of not being thoug
the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with t
slaughter of three thousand citizens, and had offered
many bloody sacrifices to God for his government, and h
defiled the temple with as many dead bodies at festival tim
Those therefore that were left after so many miseries h
just reason to consider now at last the calamities they h
undergone, and to oppose themselves, like soldiers in w
to receive stripes upon their faces [and not upon th
backs as hitherto]. Wherefore they prayed that t
Romans would have compassion upon the remains
Judæa, and not expose what was left of it to such as h
barbarously torn it in pieces, but that they would j
their country to Syria, and administer the government
their own governors; when it would be apparent that th
who were calumniated as seditious persons and lovers o
war, knew how to bear governors set over them, if they
were moderate ones. The Jews concluded their accusa-
tion with this request. Then rose up Nicolaus, and con-
futed the accusations which were brought against Herod
and Archelaus, and himself accused the Jewish nation, as
hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings.
He also inveighed against all those kinsmen of Archelaus'
who had left him, and had gone over to his accusers.

§ 3. And Augustus, when he had heard both sides, dis-
solved the council for the time; but a few days after-
wards he gave half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by
the name of Ethnarch, and promised to make him king
also afterwards, if he showed himself worthy of that
dignity. As to the other half, he divided it into two
tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, one
to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested
the kingdom with Archelaus. Antipas had Peræa[1] and
Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents; and Bata-
næa,[2] and Trachonitis,[3] and Auranitis,[4] and certain parts of
Zeno's house about Jamnia,[5] with a revenue of a hundred
talents, were made subject to Philip: while Idumæa,[6] and

[1] Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.
[2] Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.
[3] *el-Lejah*. Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.
[4] The *Haurân*. Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.
[5] *Yebnah*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.
[6] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

Judæa, and Samaria, were made parts of the ethnarchy Archelaus, but Samaria was eased of one quarter of its xes, because it had not revolted with the others. Archeis also received the following as subject cities, viz. ato's Tower,[1] and Sebaste,[2] and Joppa,[3] and Jerusalem; as to the Greek cities, Gaza[4] and Gadara[5] and Hippos,[6] igustus cut them off from the kingdom, and added them Syria. And the revenue of the country that was given Archelaus was four hundred talents. Salome, also, bees what Herod had left her in his testaments, was now lared mistress of Jamnia and Azotus[7] and Phasaelis.[8] gustus moreover bestowed upon her the royal palace in alon.[9] So from all sources she got a revenue of sixty nts. But Augustus put her property under the narchy of Archelaus. As for the rest of Herod's spring, they each received what was bequeathed to them his testaments; and besides that, Augustus granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras. And after this distribution of the family property, he divided among them what had been bequeathed to himself by Herod, which was a thousand talents, picking out for himself only some inconsiderable presents in honour of the deceased.

CHAP. VII.

The History of the spurious Alexander. Archelaus is banished, and Glaphyra dies, after what was to happen to both of them had been showed them in Dreams.

§ 1.

MEANTIME a man who was by birth a Jew, but had been brought up at Sidon[10] with one of the Roman freedmen, falsely pretended, on account of his personal

[1] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisarîyeh.* [2] *Sebustieh.*
[3] *Jaffa.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 2. [4] *Ghuzzeh.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[5] *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2. [6] *Susiyeh.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.
[7] Azotus, *Esdûd.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.
[8] *Fusaîl.* Jewish War, i. 21, § 9.
[9] *'Ascalûn.* Jewish War, i. 9, § 2. [10] *Saida.* Jewish War, i. 13, § 1.

resemblance, that he was that Alexander who was slain
Herod, and went to Rome, hoping not to be detected the
He had one of his own nation who was his instigat
in this, who knew all the affairs of the kingdom, a
instructed him to say that those that were sent to kill l
and Aristobulus had pity upon them and stole them aw
putting bodies that were like theirs in their places.
this way he deceived the Jews that were at Crete,[1] and
a great deal of travelling-money from them, and sai
thence to Melos,[2] where he was thought so certainly genui
that he got a great deal more money, and prevailed u
those that had entertained him to sail with him for Ro
And he landed at Dicæarchia,[3] and got very large presc
from the Jews who dwelt there, and was escorted by
supposed father's friends as if he were a king. Nay,
personal resemblance procured him so much credit, t
those who had seen Alexander, and had even known h
very well, swore that he was the very same person. So th
whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in
crowds to see him, and an innumerable multitude stood in
the narrow streets through which he was carried. For the
people of Melos were so infatuated, that they carried him
in a litter, and maintained a royal retinue for him at their
own cost.

§ 2. But Augustus, who knew perfectly well the features of Alexander, because he had been accused by Herod before him, even before he saw the man, doubted the truth of the story, but, putting some belief in cheerful hopes, sent Celadus, who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. And when Augustus saw him, he immediately discerned the difference of his countenance, and when he discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he detected all the contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked Augustus. For he told those who asked about Aristobulus that he also was preserved alive, but was left on purpose in Cyprus[4] for fear of

[1] Antiq. xvii. 12, § 1; Against Apion, ii. § 17.
[2] *Milo.* The most westerly of the Cyclades. Antiq. xvii. 12, §§ 1, 2.
[3] Puteoli, *Pozzuoli.* Life, § 3; Antiq. xvii. 12, § 1.
[4] Antiq. xiii. 10, § 4; xvii. 12, § 2.

treachery, because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate. Then Celadus took him apart, and said to him, "The emperor will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to concoct such a story." So he said [illegible]at he would discover him, and followed Celadus to [illegible]gustus, and pointed out the Jew who had trafficked on [illegible] personal resemblance as a means of getting money, for [illegible]had received more presents in every city than ever [illegible]xander did when he was alive. Augustus laughed at [illegible] matter, and put this spurious Alexander among his [illegible]vers, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered [illegible]n that had instigated him to this contrivance to be put [illegible]death. As for the people of Melos, they had been [illegible]fficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they [illegible]d been put to on his account.

§ 3. And now Archelaus took possession of his ethnarchy, and used not only the Jews, but also the Samaritans barbarously, remembering their old quarrels with him. So they both sent ambassadors against him to Augustus, and in the ninth year of his government he was banished to Vienne,[1] a city in Gaul, and his effects were confiscated to Augustus' treasury. And the story goes that, before he was sent for by Augustus, he dreamed he saw nine ears of corn, full and large, devoured by oxen. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldæans, and inquired of them what they thought this portended, and when one of them gave one interpretation, and another another, Simon, one of the sect of the Essenes, said that he thought the ears of corn denoted years, and the oxen denoted changes of affairs, because by ploughing they made an alteration of the country. He would therefore probably reign as many years as there were ears of corn, and after he had passed through various alterations of fortune, would die. And five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation, he was called to his trial.

§ 4. I cannot but also think worth recording the dream that Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, had, who had originally been wife of Alexander (the

[1] *Vienne*, on the left bank of the Rhone. Antiq. xvii. 13, § 2.

brother of that Archelaus of whom I have been speaking, and the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death, as I have previously related), and after his death married Juba king of Libya,[1] and after his death returned home, and lived in widowhood with her father, till Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love wi her, that he divorced Mariamne, who was then his wife, a married her. Now when she had returned to Judæa, a had been there a little while, she dreamed she saw Alexan standing by her, and that he said to her, "Thy marria with the king of Libya might have been sufficient for th but thou wast not contented with him, but art return again to my family, to a third husband, and thou h chosen for thine husband, O impudent woman, my broth However, I will not overlook the injury thou hast do me; I shall have thee again, whether thou wilt or n And after telling her dream she barely survived two da

CHAP. VIII.

Archelaus' Ethnarchy is reduced to a Roman Province. The Rising of Judas of Galilee. The three Sects of the Jews.

§ 1.

AND now Archelaus' portion of Judæa was reduced to a Roman province; and Coponius, a man of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as governor, having the power of life and death put into his hands by Augustus. It was under his administration that a certain Galilæan, whose name was Judas, induced his countrymen to revolt, and said they were cowards if they would endure paying tribute to the Romans, and after God submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a founder of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the other founders of sects.

§ 2. For there are three philosophical sects among the

[1] The country west of Egypt. Antiq. i. 6, § 2; i. 15; Jewish War, vii. 11, § 1.

Jews, the followers of the first of which are called Pharisees, those of the second Sadducees, and those of the third sect, which seems to practise a severer discipline, Essenes. These last are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. They reject pleasures as vice, and esteem continence and the conquest over our passions to be virtue. They despise marriage, but choose out other persons' children while they are pliable and fit for learning, and adopt them as their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely repudiate marriage, and the continuance of the human race thereby, but are on their guard against the lascivious behaviour of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve fidelity to one man.

§ 3. These men are despisers of riches, and wonderfully communistic, nor is there any one to be found among them who possesses more than another. For it is a law among them, that those who join their sect must let what they have be common to the whole body; insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of abject poverty, or excess of riches, but everyone's property forms a common stock, and is, as it were, one patrimony for all the brethren. They think oil a defilement, and if any one of them gets any on his body against his will, he wipes his body; for they think to be dry is a good thing, as also to be continually clothed in white garments. They also elect people to manage their common affairs, who have each no business of their own, but only act for the society.

§ 4. They have no one particular city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have is open to them just as if it were their own, and they go into the houses of those whom they never knew before, as if they were their most intimate friends. Accordingly they carry nothing at all with them when they travel, though they take their weapons with them for fear of robbers. And they have in each city a person specially told off to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. And the dress and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their tutors. They do not change their garments or shoes, till they are first entirely

torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell anything to one another, but every one of them gives what he has to him that wants it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what is useful to himself; and even though no requital be made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomever they please.

§ 5. As for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for before sun-rise they speak not a word about profane matters, but offer up certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising. After this, every one of them is dismissed by the managers to carry out the work in which they are proficients, at which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour, after which they assemble together again in one place, and when they have clothed themselves in linen, they bathe their bodies in cold water; and after this purification they assemble in an apartment of their own, into which none of another sect are permitted to enter; and they go pure into the dining-room, as into a holy temple. And when they have quietly sat down, the baker lays loaves before them in order, and the cook brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before each of them. And a priest offers a prayer, before which it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food, and after the meal is over he offers up a prayer again, and when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as the giver of their food. After this they lay aside their linen garments, as sacred, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening; they then return home and sup in the same manner, and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor does any clamour or disturbance ever pollute their house, but they give every one leave to speak in turn; and the silence of the inmates appears to those outside like some tremendous mystery; but the cause of it is their perpetual sobriety, and the fact that the meat and drink that is allotted them comes short of satiety.

§ 6. And indeed in all other things, they do nothing but according to the injunctions of their managers; only two things are done among them at their own option, namely assisting those that want assistance, and showing mercy. For they are permitted at their own option to succour such

as are deserving when they stand in need of succour, and to give food to those that are in distress; but they cannot give any thing to their kindred without the leave of the managers. They dispense their anger in a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace. Whatever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury; for they say that what cannot be believed without [swearing by] God, is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of soul and body, and inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their diseases.

§ 7. Now if any one has a mind to come over to their sect, he is not immediately admitted, but he is prescribed the same method of living as they use for a year, while he continues excluded, and they give him also a small hatchet, and the forementioned girdle, and the white garment. And when he has during that time given evidence of his continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of their waters of purification; yet is he not even now admitted to live with them; for after this demonstration of his fortitude, his character is tested two more years, and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths, in the first place that he will exercise piety towards God, and next that he will observe justice towards men, and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or at the command of others, and that he will always hate the wicked, and help the righteous, and that he will ever show fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, because no one rules without the will of God, and that if he be in authority, he will at no time whatever abuse his authority, or endeavour to outshine his subjects, either in dress or any other finery; and that he will ever be a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies; and that he will keep his hands clean from theft, and his soul from unlawful gain; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others; no, not

though any one should try to compel him so to do at the risk of his life. Moreover, he swears to communicate their doctrines to no one in any other way than as he received them himself; and that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of their angels. These are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes to themselves.

§ 8. As for those that are caught in any heinous sins, they cast them out of their society, and he who is thus expelled often dies in a most miserable manner. For as he is bound by the oaths he has taken, and by the customs he has followed, he is not at liberty to partake of the food that he meets with elsewhere, but is forced to eat herbs, and so wastes away with hunger, and dies. And so they receive many of them again, when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion, thinking the miseries they have endured till they came to the very brink of death a sufficient punishment for the sins they have been guilty of.

§ 9. As to the judgments they exercise they are most strictly just, nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court of fewer than a hundred persons. But what is once determined by that number is unalterable. And what they most of all honour, after God himself, is the name of their legislator, whom if any one blaspheme, he is punished by death. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders and the majority: so if ten are sitting together, none of them will speak if the other nine are against speaking. They also avoid spitting in the midst, or on the right hand, and are stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labours on the seventh day. For they not only get their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but they will not on that day remove any vessel out of its place, nor even go to stool. On other days they dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a paddle (a kind of hatchet given them when they are first admitted into the society), and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not affront the divine rays of light, they ease themselves into that pit, after which they put the earth that was dug out again into the pit, and even this they do only in the more lonely places, which they choose out for this purpose: and

although this easement of the body be natural, yet it is a rule with them to wash themselves after it, as if they were defiled.

§ 10. Now after the time of their probation is over, they are divided into four classes; and so much are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors are touched by the juniors, they must wash themselves, as if they had been defiled by touching a foreigner. They are long-lived also, insomuch that many of them live above a hundred years, owing to the simplicity of their diet, I think, and regularity of life. They despise the miseries of life, and are above pain by their spirit; as for death, if it come with glory, they esteem it better than living always. And indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they all had, for though they were tortured and racked, burnt and torn to pieces, and suffered all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might either blaspheme their legislator, or eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to do either, nor once to flatter their tormentors, nor to shed a tear; but they smiled amid their pains, and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and cheerfully resigned up their souls, expecting to receive them again.

§ 11. For the opinion is prevalent among them that bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent, but that souls are immortal and continue for ever, and that they come out of the most thin air, and are united to bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; and when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then rejoice and mount upwards as if released from a long bondage. They think also, like the sons of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, nor with intense heat, but refreshed by the gentle breathing of the west wind, which perpetually blows from the ocean; while they allot to bad souls a murky and cold den, full of never-ceasing punishments. And indeed the Greeks seem to me to have the same notion, when they allot the Islands of the Blest to their brave men, whom they call heroes and demigods, but to the souls of the wicked the region of the

ungodly in Hades, where their mythology relates that certain persons are punished, such as Sisyphus and Tantalus and Ixion and Tityus; on the supposition first that souls are immortal, and next with a view to repel people from vice and exhort them to virtue; for they hold that good men become better in the conduct of their life by the hope they have of reward after death, and that the vehement inclinations of bad men to vice are restrained by fear, and by the expectation they are in, that although they may escape detection in this life, they will suffer immortal punishment after death. These are the divine doctrines of the Essenes about the soul, which unavoidably attract such as have but once tasted their philosophy.

§ 12. There are also those among them who profess to foretell things to come, by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being conversant with the sayings of the prophets: and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

§ 13. There is also another order of Essenes, who agree with the rest as to their way of living and customs and laws, but differ from them as regards marriage. For they think that those who do not marry cut off the principal part of human life, which is the continuance of mankind, nay, more, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would soon fail. However, they try their spouses for three years, and if they find that they have their menses thrice, as a trial that they are likely to be fruitful, they then marry them. But they do not go with their wives when they are with child, showing that they do not marry out of regard to pleasure, but only to have children. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on, as the men do with drawers on. Such are the customs of this order of Essenes.

§ 14. As to the two other sects first mentioned, the Pharisees are esteemed most skilful in the exact interpretation of their laws, and are the first sect. They ascribe all things to fate and God, and yet allow that to do what is right or the contrary is principally in men's own power, although fate co-operates in every action. They think also that all souls are immortal, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies, while the souls of bad

men are punished with eternal punishment. But the Sadducees, the second sect, take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not the cause of our doing or not doing what is bad, and they say that to do what is good or bad lies in men's own choice, and that the one or the other so belongs to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away belief in the immortality of the soul, and in punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and cultivate concord for the general utility, but the behaviour of the Sadducees to one another is rather rude, and their intercourse with those of their own party is as bearish as if they were strangers to them. Such is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

CHAP. IX.

The Death of Salome. The Cities which Herod and Philip built. Pilate's action causes Disturbances. Tiberius puts Agrippa into Bonds, but Caius frees him from them, and makes him King. Herod Antipas is banished.

§ 1.

AND now, when the ethnarchy of Archelaus had become a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip and Herod who was called Antipas, administered their own tetrarchies. And when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her toparchy and Jamnia,[1] as also her grove of palm-trees in Phasaelis.[2] And when the Roman empire devolved upon Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years six months and two days, both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies, and the latter of them built the city of Cæsarea[3] near the fountains of the Jordan in the

[1] *Ybnah.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.
[2] *Fusail.* Jewish War, i. 21, § 9.
[3] Cæsarea Philippi, *Bâniâs.* Jewish War, i. 21, § 3.

region of Paneas, as also the city of Julias[1] in Lower Gaulanitis. Herod also built the city of Tiberias[2] in Galilee, and one in Peræa called Julias.[3]

§ 2. Now Pilate, who was sent into Judæa as governor by Tiberius, introduced into Jerusalem by night covered up those images of Cæsar that are called standards. This excited a very great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, feeling that their laws were trodden under foot, for those laws do not permit any sort of image to be brought into the city. And besides the indignation which the citizens themselves had at this proceeding, a vast number of the people came flocking out of the country. They hastened to Cæsarea[4] to Pilate, and besought him to have those standards removed from Jerusalem, and to respect their ancient laws. And upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immoveable in that posture for five days and as many nights.

§ 3. On the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal in the great circus, and called to him the multitude, as if desirous to give them an answer, and then gave a signal to the soldiers according to a preconcerted arrangement to surround the Jews with their weapons. So the band of soldiers stood round about the Jews in three ranks, and the Jews were in the utmost consternation at that unexpected sight, and Pilate told them that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would receive Cæsar's images, and gave a signal to the soldiers to draw their swords. Thereupon the Jews, as if by agreement, fell down in vast numbers together, and bared their necks, and cried out that they were ready to be slain rather than that their law should be transgressed. Thereupon Pilate was greatly surprised at their invincible regard to their religion, and gave orders that the standards should be at once carried away from Jerusalem.

§ 4. After this he raised another disturbance by ex-

[1] Perhaps *et-Tell*. Life, § 72; Antiq. xviii. 2, § 1; Jewish War, iii. 10, § 7.
[2] *Tubariya*. Life, *pass.*; Antiq. xviii. 2, § 3.
[3] Betharampha. Jewish War, ii. 4, § 2.
[4] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

pending the sacred treasure which is called Corbàn on an aqueduct,[1] whereby he brought water from a distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude were indignant, and when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they flocked round his tribunal, and made a clamour. Now, as he was apprised beforehand of this disturbance, he mixed up his own soldiers in their armour with the multitude, and ordered them to conceal themselves in the dress of private men, and not to use their swords, but to beat with their staves those that made the clamour, and he gave them the signal to do so from his tribunal. And the Jews were so beaten, that many of them perished from the stripes they received, and many of them were trodden to death by one another in their flight. And the multitude was dismayed at the calamity of those that were slain, and held their peace.

§ 5. Meantime Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been put to death by his father Herod, went to Tiberius, to accuse Herod the tetrarch. But though Tiberius did not receive his accusation, he stayed at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with other men of note, and especially with Caius the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, on one occasion feasting Caius, was very complaisant to him in several other ways, and at last stretched out his hands, and openly prayed that Tiberius might die, and that he might soon see him emperor of the world. This was told Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics, and he was very angry, and shut up Agrippa in prison, and had him ill treated there for six months, until Tiberius died, after he had reigned twenty-two years six months and three days.

§ 6. But when Caius was made emperor, he released Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, for Philip was now dead. And Agrippa's arriving at that degree of dignity inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch; who was chiefly induced to hope for royalty by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not sail to the emperor, that he had lower rank; for since the emperor had made Agrippa a king from a

[1] The aqueduct which conveyed water from the springs in the *Wâdy el-'Arrûb* to 'Solomon's Pools,' near Bethlehem.

private person, much more would he advance him from a tetrarch to the same dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod, so that he went to Caius, by whom he was punished for his ambition by being banished into Spain. For Agrippa followed him to accuse him and Caius also gave him Herod's tetrarchy. And Herod died in Spain, where his wife joined him in exile.

CHAP. X.

Caius commands that his Statues should be set up in the Temple itself; and how Petronius acted in the case.

§ 1.

NOW Caius Cæsar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a god, and to desire to be called so, and to cut off those of the greatest nobility in his own country, and to extend his impiety to the Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the temple, and commanded him, in case the Jews would not receive them, to slay those that opposed this step, and to enslave all the rest of the nation. But God concerned himself with these commands. And Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judæa with three legions and many Syrian auxiliaries. Now some of the Jews could not believe the rumours of war, but those that did believe them were in the utmost anxiety how to defend themselves. And a panic diffused itself presently through the whole nation, for the army was already come to Ptolemais.

§ 2. This Ptolemais[1] is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is surrounded by mountains; that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee; that on the south belongs to Carmel,[2] which is distant from it a hundred and twenty furlongs; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country The Ladder of the Tyrians,[3] and this is at the distance

[1] *'Akka.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 1.
[2] Mount Carmel, on the south side of the Bay of Acre.
[3] *Râs en-Nakûrah*, between *Acre* and Tyre.

of a hundred furlongs. The very small river Belæus[1] runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs from the city, near which is Memnon's monument, which has near it a remarkable place no larger than a hundred cubits; which is round and hollow, and yields such sand as glass is made of, and when this sand has been emptied by the many ships loaded there, the place is filled again by the winds, which sweep into it, as if on purpose, sand which lay remote, and was common sand, which this mine turns at once entirely into a glassy sand. And what seems to me still more wonderful, the glassy sand which once leaves that place becomes common sand again. Such is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

§ 3. And now the Jews assembled together in great numbers with their wives and children in the plain that was near Ptolemais, and made supplications to Petronius, first on behalf of their laws, and next on behalf of themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications, and left his army and the statues at Ptolemais, and went on to Galilee, and called together the multitude and all the men of note to Tiberias, and declared to them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Caius, and, also argued that their petition was unreasonable. For as all the nations subject to Rome had placed the images of the emperor in their several cities among the rest of their gods, for them alone to oppose it was almost like the behaviour of rebels, and was insulting to the emperor.

§ 4. And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not lawful for them to put even an image of God, much less of a man, in any profane part of their country, much less in the temple, Petronius replied, "And am not I also bound to keep the law of my lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, I shall justly perish. And he that sent me, and not I, will war against you; for I am under command as well as you." Thereupon the whole multitude cried out, that "they were ready to suffer for their law." Petronius then tried to quiet their noise, and said to them, "Will you then make war against the emperor?" The Jews said that they

[1] The *Nahr N'amein.*

offered sacrifices twice every day for the emperor and the Roman people; but if he would set up his statues, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and they were ready to expose themselves to be slain with their children and wives. At this Petronius felt both astonishment and pity on account of their invincible regard to their religion, and their courage which made them ready to die for it. And they were dismissed for the time without effecting their object.

§ 5. But on the following days he assembled together the influential men privately, and the multitude publicly, and sometimes besought them, and sometimes advised them, but chiefly threatened them, insisting upon the power of the Romans, and the anger of Caius, and also the necessity he was himself under. But as they could be no way prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of continuing unsown (for it was about seed-time that the multitude continued for fifty days together idle), he at last assembled them together, and told them that it was best for him to run some hazard himself; "for either, by the divine assistance, I shall persuade the emperor, and shall myself gladly escape danger as well as you, or if he continue in his rage, I will readily expose my own life for such a great number as you are." Thereupon he dismissed the multitude, who prayed greatly for his success, and led his army back from Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch;[1] from whence he sent a letter at once to the emperor, and informed him of the march he had made into Judæa, and of the supplications of the nation; and said that, unless he had a mind to lose both the country and the men in it, he must permit them to keep their law, and must countermand his former injunction. Caius answered his letter in no measured terms, and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in carrying out his commands. But it happened that those who brought Caius' answer were tempest-tossed on the sea for three months, while others that brought the news of Caius' death had a good voyage. So Petronius received news of Caius' death twenty-seven days before he received the emperor's answer against himself.

[1] On the Orontes.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Empire of Claudius and the Reign of Agrippa. Concerning the Deaths of Agrippa and of Herod, and what Family they both left behind them.

§ 1.

NOW when Caius had been emperor three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery, Claudius was carried off by the army that was in Rome and made emperor. But the senate, at the suggestion of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that sided with them to keep the city quiet, and assembled in the Capitol, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; for they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as it had of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such an emperor as was worthy of the position.

§ 2. Now it happened that Agrippa at this time sojourned at Rome, and that not only the senate called him to consult with them, but also Claudius sent for him from the camp, that he might help him in this emergency. And he, perceiving that Claudius was in effect emperor already, went to him. And Claudius sent him as an ambassador to the senate, to let them know what his intentions were, and to state first that it was against his will that he was carried off by the soldiers, but he thought it was not right to leave them in the lurch in their zeal for him, and if he should do so, his own fortune would be uncertain, for it was dangerous to have been once called to the empire. Claudius added further, that he would administer the government as a good prince, and not as a tyrant; for he would be satisfied with the honour of being called emperor, but would, in every one of his actions, permit them all to give him their advice; for even if he had not been by nature a man of moderation, yet the death of Caius would be a sufficient lesson how soberly he ought to act.

§ 3. This message was delivered by Agrippa. And the

senate, relying on their army and wise counsels, replied that they would not endure a voluntary slavery. When Claudius heard what answer the senate had made, he sent Agrippa again to take to them the following message, that he would not betray those that had sworn to be true to him, and if he had to fight, would fight unwillingly against such as he had no mind to fight with; however [if it must come to that], it was proper to choose a place without the city to fight in; for it was impious to pollute the temples of their city with the blood of their fellow-countrymen simply because of their ill-advisedness. And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senate.

§ 4. Meantime one of the soldiers on the side of the senate drew his sword, and cried out, "Fellow-soldiers, what is the meaning of our choosing to kill our brothers, and to attack our kindred who are with Claudius, when we have one for our emperor whom no one can blame, and who has so many just claims on those against whom we are going to fight?" When he had said this, he marched through the whole senate, and attracted to his side all his fellow-soldiers. Upon this all the patricians were immediately in a great fright at being thus deserted; but as there appeared no other course of safety, they made haste to Claudius the same way as the soldiers. But those that had more eagerly wooed fortune met them before the walls with their naked swords; and there was reason to fear that those that reached the camp first would have been in danger, before Claudius knew what violence the soldiers were going to offer them, had not Agrippa rushed up and told him what danger they were incurring, and that unless he restrained the violence of those men who were mad against the patricians, he would lose those on whose account it was glorious to rule, and would be emperor over a desert.

§ 5. When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiers, and received the senate in the camp, and treated them in an obliging manner, and went out with them at once to offer thank-offerings to God on his accession to the empire. And he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and also added Tracho-

nitis[1] and Auranitis,[1] those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, and also besides these the kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias.[2] This gift he signified to the people by a decree, and ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass and set up in the Capitol. He also bestowed on his brother Herod (who was also his son-in-law as he had married Berenice) the kingdom of Chalcis.[3]

§ 6. So now riches quickly flowed in to Agrippa from his enjoyment of such large dominions, nor did he waste the money he had on small matters; but he began to surround Jerusalem with such a wall that, had it been brought to perfection, would have made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cæsarea,[4] before he had raised the walls to the intended height, prevented this. He had then reigned three years, and had governed his tetrarchies three previous years. He left behind him three daughters, by his wife Cypros, viz. Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, and a son Agrippa by the same mother. And as he was a very young child, Claudius made the country a Roman province again, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its governor, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alterations in the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. After this Herod the king of Chalcis also died, and left two sons by his brother's daughter Berenice, whose names were Berenicianus and Hyrcanus. He also left a son Aristobulus by his former wife Mariamne. There was besides another brother of his that died a private person; his name was also Aristobulus, and he left a daughter whose name was Jotape. These, as I formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod. Now Aristobulus and Alexander were sons of Herod by Mariamne, and were put to death by their father. As for Alexander's posterity, they reigned in Greater Armenia.

[1] Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.
[2] *Abilene.* Antiq. xix. 5, § 1.
[3] *Kinnisrin.* Jewish War, i. 9, § 2.
[4] *Kaisariyeh.* Antiq. xix. 8, § 2.

CHAP. XII.

Many Tumults under Cumanus, which are composed by Quadratus. Felix is appointed Governor of Judæa. Agrippa is advanced from Chalcis to a greater Kingdom.

§ 1.

NOW after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom; and Cumanus succeeded Alexander in the administration of the other province, under whom began troubles and new calamities for the Jews. For when the multitude were come together to Jerusalem to the feast of Unleavened Bread, and a Roman cohort was stationed above the portico of the temple, (for they always kept guard under arms at the festivals, to prevent any outbreak which the multitude thus gathered together might make,) one of the soldiers pulled up his clothes, and stooped down, and indecently exposed his backside to the Jews, and spoke such words as you might expect from such a posture. At this the whole multitude were indignant, and made a clamour to Cumanus that he would punish the soldier; while the hot-headed youth, and such as were naturally most riotous, fell to fighting, and snatched up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon this Cumanus was afraid lest all the people should make an assault upon him, and sent for more armed men. And as they poured into the porticoes in great numbers, the Jews were seized with a very great panic, and being beaten out of the temple, fled pell-mell into the city; and the violence with which they crowded to get out was so great, that they trod upon each other, and jostled one another, till more than ten thousand of them were killed; insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation, and brought lamentation to every family.

§ 2. Now there followed after this another calamity, which arose from a tumult made by robbers; for on the public road

near Beth-horon,[1] one Stephen, a servant of the emperor, was carrying some furniture, which the robbers fell upon, and seized. Upon this Cumanus sent men to go round to the neighbouring villages, and to bring their inhabitants to him bound, laying it to their charge that they had not pursued after the robbers and arrested them. Then it was that a certain soldier, finding in a certain village the sacred book of the law, tore it to pieces, and threw it into the fire.[2] Thereupon the Jews were in great confusion, as if their whole country were in a flame, being drawn together by their zeal for their religion as if mechanically, and rushed with united clamour to Cæsarea to Cumanus, and made supplication to him, that he would not let this man go without punishment who had offered such an affront to God and their law. And he, perceiving that the multitude would not be quiet unless they had a comfortable answer from him, gave order that the soldier should be brought up and led to execution through those that required to have him punished; and after that the Jews went their ways.

§ 3. After this there happened a fight between the Galilæans and Samaritans. For at a village called Geman,[3] which lies in the great plain of Samaria, as a great number of Jews were going up to Jerusalem to the feast [of Tabernacles], a certain Galilæan was slain. At this a vast number of people flocked together out of Galilee to fight with the Samaritans; but the principal men among them went to Cumanus, and begged him, before the evil became incurable, to go into the Samaritan district,[4] and bring the authors of this murder to punishment, for there was no other way to separate the multitudes without coming to blows. However, Cumanus postponed their supplications to other affairs he was then about, and sent the petitioners away without effecting their object.

§ 4. But when this murder was reported at Jeru-

[1] The Roman road from Jerusalem to Joppa, *Jaffa*, which passed through the two Beth-horons.

[2] Reland notes here, that the Talmud, in recounting ten sad accidents for which the Jews ought to rend their garments, reckons this for one: "When they hear that the law of God is burnt."—W.

[3] *Jenin.* Antiq. xx. 6, § 1; Jewish War, iii. 3, § 4.

[4] Surely εἰς τὴν Σαμαρείτιδα is necessary. Itaque verti.

salem, it greatly disturbed the multitudes, and they left the feast, and set out for Samaria[1] without any generals, nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that endeavoured to restrain them. But their factious and marauding bands were led by one Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, and by Alexander, who fell upon those that bordered on the Acrabatene toparchy,[2] and slew them, without sparing any age, and set their villages on fire.

§ 5. But Cumanus took one troop of horse, called the troop of Sebaste,[3] from Cæsarea, and came to the assistance of those that were being devastated. He also seized upon many of those that followed Eleazar, but slew most of them. As for the rest of the multitude of those that went so zealously to fight against the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out in sackcloth and with ashes on their heads, and begged of them to go their ways, and not by their attempt to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans to provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem, but to have compassion upon their country and temple, their children and wives, and not to bring the utmost risk of destruction upon them merely to avenge one Galilæan. The Jews listened to them and dispersed; but still a great many betook themselves to robbery in hope of impunity, and plundering and insurrection on the part of the more daring happened over the whole country. And the influential persons among the Samaritans went to Tyre to Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste their country might be punished: the great men also of the Jews, and Jonathan (son of Ananus), the high priest, went there and said that the Samaritans were the beginners of the disturbance, because of the murder they had committed, and that Cumanus had caused what had happened from his unwillingness to punish the actual perpetrators of that murder.

§ 6. But Quadratus put off both parties for the time, and told them, that when he went to those places, he would make a diligent inquiry into all the circumstances.

[1] *Sebustieh.*

[2] The name is still retained in *'Akrabeh.* Jewish War, iii. 3. § 5; iv. 9, §§ 3, 9.

[3] Samaria.

After this he went to Cæsarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when he was come from thence to the city of Lydda,[1] he heard the statement of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews who he learned had been concerned in that fight, and had them beheaded: but he sent two others of those that had the greatest influence, and also Jonathan and Ananias, the high priests, as also Ananus the son of Ananias, and some other eminent Jews, to Claudius, as also the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also ordered Cumanus and the tribune Celer to sail to Rome, to give Claudius an account of what had been done. When he had arranged all this, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating the feast of Unleavened Bread without any tumult, he returned to Antioch.

§ 7. Now when Claudius at Romé had heard what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say (in the presence of Agrippa, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews, as many influential men stood by Cumanus), he condemned the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most influential persons among them should be put to death: and he banished Cumanus, and had Celer sent bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews to be tortured, and drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

§ 8. After this Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to be governor of Galilee and Samaria and Peræa, and removed Agrippa from Chalcis to a greater kingdom; for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanæa and Trachonitis and Gaulanitis: and he added to it the kingdom of Lysanias, and the province which Varus had governed. Now Claudius himself died when he had reigned thirteen years eight months and twenty days, and left Nero as his successor in the empire, whom he had adopted by his wife Agrippina's intrigues as his successor, although he had a son of his own, whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his former wife, and a daughter whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero. He had also a daughter Antonia by Petina.

[1] *Ludd.* Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

CHAP. XIII.

Nero adds four Cities to Agrippa's Kingdom; but the other Parts of Judæa are under Felix. The disturbances raised by the Sicarii, and the Magicians, and by an Egyptian false Prophet. The Jews and Syrians have a Contest at Cæsarea.

§ 1.

NOW as to the many ways in which Nero, becoming mad from his excessive felicity and riches, abused his good fortune, and how he slew his brother and wife and mother, after whom he transferred his barbarity to the most noble persons, and how, at last, he was so distracted that he became an actor in the scenes and upon the theatre, all this I shall pass over because it is universally known. But I shall turn to what happened to the Jews in his time.

§ 2. Nero, then, bestowed the kingdom of Lesser Armenia[1] upon Herod's son Aristobulus, and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities, with the toparchies belonging to them, as Abila[2] and Julias in Peræa,[3] and Tarichea[4] and Tiberias in Galilee; but he made Felix governor over the rest of Judæa. This Felix captured Eleazar the arch-robber, who had ravaged the country for twenty years, and many that were with him, alive, and sent them to Rome; while the robbers he crucified, and the people who were caught in their company, whom he brought to punishment, were an innumerable multitude.

§ 3. When the country was rid of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, who were called Sicarii, who slew men in the day-time and in the midst of the city, especially at the festivals, when they mixed with the multitude, and concealed little daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the mur-

[1] Armenia Minor extended west of the Euphrates over a portion of Asia Minor.

[2] Near *Sûk Wâdy Barada*, in Anti-Lebanon. Antiq. xix. 5, § 1; xx. 7, § 1. Jewish War, ii. 11, § 5.

[3] Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1. [4] *Kerak*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 9.

derers joined the bystanders in expressing their indignation, so that from their plausibility they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the high priest, after whom many were slain every day, and the fear men were in of being so treated was more harassing than the calamity itself, everybody expecting death every hour, as men do in war. So men kept a look out for their enemies at a great distance, and even if their friends were coming, they durst not trust them any longer, but were slain in the midst of their suspicions and precautions. Such was the celerity of the plotters, and so cunning was their contrivance against detection.

§ 4. Another body of wicked men also sprung up, cleaner in their hands, but more wicked in their intentions, who destroyed the peace of the city no less than did these murderers. For they were deceivers and deluders of the people, and under pretence of divine illumination were for innovations and changes, and prevailed on the multitude to act like madmen, and went before them into the wilderness, pretending that God would there show them signs of liberty. But Felix thought this step the beginning of a revolt; so he sent some horse and foot, and cut to pieces a great number of them.

§ 5. But an Egyptian false prophet did the Jews more mischief still. He was a cheat and impostor, and yet got credited as a prophet, and came into Judæa, and got together thirty thousand deluded men, whom he led round from the wilderness to the Mount which was called the Mount of Olives, and intended to break into Jerusalem by force from that place; and if he could but once conquer the Roman garrison and the people, he intended to domineer over them by the assistance of those body-guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt, and met him with his Roman soldiers, and all the people assisted Felix against him, so that, when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away with a few others, but most of those that were with him were either killed or taken alive: and the rest of the multitude dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

§ 6. Now when these had been quieted, it happened, as it does in a diseased body, that another part caught the infection. For several impostors and robbers assembled together, and urged the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government, and saying that such as willingly chose slavery ought to be by force detached therefrom. And they divided themselves into different bodies up and down the country, and plundered the houses of well-to-do people, and slew the men themselves, and set villages on fire; so that all Judæa was filled with the effects of their madness. And thus this war was every day more and more fanned into flame.

§ 7. There was also another disturbance at Cæsarea,[1] the Jews, who were a mixed population there with the Syrians, raising a tumult against them. The Jews maintained that the city was theirs, and said that he who built it was a Jew, namely king Herod. The Syrians admitted that its builder was a Jew, but argued that it was none the less built for Greeks; for he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for Jews. On this matter both parties had a controversy with one another, and the quarrel came at last to arms, and the bolder on both sides daily marched out to fight. For the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people that were disposed to be riotous, and the Greeks thought it a disgrace for them to be overcome by Jews. Now the Jews had the best of it in riches and strength of body, but the Greeks had the advantage of assistance from the soldiers; for most of the Roman army there was raised out of Syria, and thus being kinsmen they came readily to their assistance. However, the commanders were anxious to allay the disturbance, and kept arresting those that were most for fighting on either side, and punished them with stripes and bonds. But the sufferings of those that were arrested did not frighten the rest, or make them desist; but they were still more exasperated and riotous. And on one occasion when the Jews had beaten the Syrians, Felix came into the market place, and commanded them to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not; and as they did not

[1] *Kaisarîyeh.*

obey him, he sent his soldiers against them, and slew a great many of them, and also plundered their property. And as the disturbance still continued, he chose out the leading men on both sides, and sent them as ambassadors to Nero, to argue on the merits of the case.

CHAP. XIV.

Festus succeeds Felix, who is succeeded by Albinus, and he by Florus; who by the Barbarity of his Rule forces the Jews into War.

§ 1.

NOW Festus succeeded Felix as governor, and tried to put down those that most ravaged the country. So he arrested most of the robbers, and slew a great many of them. But Albinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his office in the same manner, for there was no kind of wickedness but he had a hand in it. For not only did he in his official position steal and plunder every one's substance, and burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been put there either by the senate of every city or by former governors, to redeem them for money, and nobody remained in the prisons as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing. At this time the audacity of the innovating party at Jerusalem was very great, as the opulent by their money got impunity for their rioting from Albinus, while those of the people who delighted not in quiet joined themselves to the associates of Albinus. And every one of these wicked wretches was surrounded by his own band of robbers, while himself, like an arch-robber or tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over his satellites to plunder those that lived quietly. So it happened that those who were robbed of their goods were forced to hold their peace, though they had cause for great indignation, and those who had escaped were forced to flatter him that deserved punishment, from fear of suffering the same things. And to sum up, nobody

durst speak their minds, for tyranny was generally prevalent; and at this time the seeds were sown which brought the city to destruction.

§ 2. And though such was the character of Albinus, yet Gessius Florus, who succeeded him, showed him to have been a most just person by comparison. For the former did most of his ill-deeds in private and with a sort of dissimulation, but Gessius made a show of his lawlessness to the nation, and as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, omitted no sort of outrage. For in cases that required pity he was most barbarous, and in disgraceful things he was most shameless; nor could any one outdo him in disguising the truth, nor contrive more subtle ways of deceit. He indeed thought it a poor thing to get money out of individuals, so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once, and did all but publicly proclaim all over the country that everybody had liberty to turn robber, upon condition that he went shares in the spoil. And owing to his cupidity entire toparchies were brought to desolation; and many people left their country, and fled into strange provinces.

§ 3. Now as long as Cestius Gallus administered the province of Syria, nobody durst send an embassage to him against Florus. But when he came to Jerusalem at the approach of the feast of Unleavened Bread, the people crowded round him, not fewer in number than three millions,[1] and besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation, and clamoured against Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he mocked at their petition. But Cestius quieted the excitement of the multitude, and assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner, and returned to Antioch. And Florus conducted him on his way as far as Cæsarea, and deluded him, for he had at that very time the inten-

[1] Here we may note, that 3,000,000 of the Jews were present at the passover, A.D. 65, which confirms what Josephus elsewhere informs us of, that at a passover a little later, they counted 256,500 paschal lambs, which, at twelve to each lamb, which is no immoderate calculation, come to 3,078,000. See vi. 9, § 3.—W.

tion in his anger of procuring war against the nation, for by that means alone he thought he could conceal his crimes. For he expected that, if peace continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before the emperor, but if he could make them revolt, he should divert the emperor's [1] attention from smaller matters by this greater evil. So he every day augmented their calamities, in order to induce them to revolt from the Romans.

§ 4. Now it happened at this time, that the Greeks of Cæsarea had won their case, and obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought back his judicial decision in writing, and at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisius. Now the cause of this war was by no means proportioned to the heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cæsarea having a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cæsarean Greek, had frequently endeavoured to purchase the place, and had offered for it a sum many times its value; but as the owner contemptuously refused their offers, and also raised other buildings upon the place by way of affront to them, and built workshops, and left the Jews but a narrow and very difficult passage to their synagogue, the hotheaded Jewish youths went hastily at first to the workmen and forbade them to build, and as Florus stopped their violence, the leading men of the Jews, among whom was John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, tried to bribe Florus by eight talents to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and took the money and went away from Cæsarea [2] to Sebaste,[3] and left the riot to take its course, as if he had sold a licence to the Jews to fight it out.

§ 5. The next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding apace to their synagogue, a certain riotous person of Cæsarea turned an earthen vessel bottom upwards at the entrance of the

[1] Reading *αὐτοῦ* (instead of *αὐτῶν*, which crept in from the line above).

[2] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisaríych.* [3] Samaria, *Sebustich.*

synagogue, and sacrificed birds in it.[1] This thing terribly exasperated the Jews, because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted. And the sober and moderate portion of the Jews thought it well to have recourse to their governors again; but the riotous portion, and such as were in the fervour of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The riotous Greeks also of Cæsarea stood ready for the same purpose (for they had, by agreement, conducted the man to sacrifice), so they soon came to blows. Then Jucundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came up and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavoured to put a stop to the riot. But as he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cæsarea, the Jews seized the books of their law, and retired to Narbata, a place so called belonging to them, which was sixty furlongs from Cæsarea. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him, went to Florus to Sebaste, and complained bitterly of what had happened, and besought him to help them, modestly reminding him of the eight talents they had given him. But he had them arrested, and put in prison, on the charge of carrying the books of their law from Cæsarea.

§ 6. At this the people of Jerusalem were very indignant, but they restrained their passion. However, Florus, as if he had a contract for the work, blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to the sacred treasure to take seventeen talents out, pretending that the emperor wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple with piercing cries, and called upon the emperor's name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the insurgents hurled the most disgraceful reproaches against Florus, and carried a basket about and begged some small coins for him, as for a miserable beggar. But he was not made ashamed thereby

[1] Take here Dr. Hudson's very pertinent note. "By this action," says he, "the killing of a bird over an earthen vessel, the Jews were exposed as a leprous people (for that was to be done by the law in the cleansing of a leper, Levit. xiv.). It is also known that the Gentiles reproached the Jews as subject to the leprosy, and believed that they were driven out of Egypt on that account. This, that eminent person, Mr. Reland, suggested to me."—W.

of his love of money, but was provoked to get still more. And instead of going to Cæsarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war which was beginning there, and so taking away the causes of any disturbance, for which purpose indeed he had received a sum of money, he set out with an army of horse and foot for Jerusalem, that he might carry out his purpose by the arms of the Romans, and by terrorism and threats fleece the city.

§ 7. But the people, wishing to make Florus ashamed of his impetuosity, met his soldiers with acclamations, and prepared to receive him obsequiously. But he sent on Capito a centurion with fifty horsemen, and bade them go back, and not now make a show of receiving him in an obliging manner, when they had so foully reproached him before; and said that if they were brave and bold, they ought to jeer him to his face, and to show themselves lovers of liberty, not only in words, but with their weapons also. At this message the multitude was dismayed, and upon the charging of Capito's horsemen into the midst of them, they dispersed before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behaviour to the soldiers. And they retired to their own houses, and spent the night in fear and dejection.

§ 8. And now Florus took up his quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it, when the high priests, and the principal people, and all those of the greatest eminence in the city, came before his tribunal; upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those that had abused him, and told them that they should themselves share in his vengeance, if they did not produce the guilty persons. But they affirmed that the people were peaceably disposed, and begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for they said it was no wonder at all that in so great a multitude there should be some too bold and because of their youth foolish, but it was impossible to distinguish those that had offended from the rest, as each one was sorry for what he had done, and would deny it from fear of what would follow. They said he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to determine to preserve the city for the Romans, and rather for the sake of

a great number of innocent people to forgive a few that were guilty, than because of a few wicked to trouble so large and loyal a body of men.

§ 9. Florus was more provoked at this, and called out aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was called the upper market-place, and to slay those whom they met. And they, taking this exhortation of their commander in a sense to suit their desire of gain, did not only plunder the place they were sent to, but rushed into every house, and slew the inhabitants. And the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no sort of plunder was omitted. They also arrested many quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first insulted by scourging, and then crucified them. And the entire number of those that perished that day, with their wives and children (for they did not spare even infants), was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier, was the following novelty in Roman barbarity: for Florus ventured now to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian order scourged[1] and nailed to the cross before his tribunal; who, although they were by birth Jews, yet had that Roman dignity.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Berenice's Petition to Florus to spare the Jews, which was in vain, as also how, after the seditious Flame was quenched, it was kindled again by Florus.

§ 1.

AT this time king Agrippa had set out for Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander on his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero. But his sister Berenice was at Jerusalem, and when she saw the lawless conduct of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it; and

[1] Here we have examples of native Jews who were of the equestrian order among the Romans, and so ought never to have been whipped or crucified, according to the Roman laws. See almost the like case in St. Paul himself, Acts xxii. 25-29.—W.

frequently sent the masters of her horse, and her body-guards, to Florus, and begged of him to leave off these slaughters. But he would not comply with her request, and paid no regard either to the number of those already slain, or to the nobility of her that interceded, but only thought of the gain he might make by plundering. And the violence of the soldiers raged even against the queen herself; for they not only ill-treated and killed those whom they took under her very eyes, but would indeed have killed her also, had she not prevented them by fleeing to the palace, and staying there all night with her guards, fearing the violence of the soldiers. Now she was staying at this time at Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she had made to God. For it is usual with those that have been afflicted either with disease, or with any other distresses, to make vows, and for thirty days before they offer their sacrifices to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head. Berenice was now performing all this, and she stood barefoot before Florus' tribunal, and besought him [to spare the Jews]. But so far was she from having any reverence paid to her, that she ran some danger of being slain herself.

§ 2. These events happened on the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius. Now the next day the multitude, who were in great distress, ran together to the upper market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished; and most of their cries reflected on Florus. At this the principal persons were terrified, as also the high priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and begged them to be quiet, and not to provoke Florus to some irremediable act of violence in addition to what they had already suffered. And the multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that besought them, and in the hope that Florus would do them no more injury.

§ 3. But Florus was vexed that the disturbance was over, and endeavoured to kindle the flame again, and sent for the high priests and the other eminent persons, and said that the only proof that the people would desist from any further rioting would be for them to go out and meet the soldiers that were coming up from Cæsarea,

for two cohorts were on the road. And while they were still calling the multitude together, he despatched messengers with directions to the centurions of the cohorts on the road to tell the soldiers that were under them not to return the Jews' salutations, and if they said anything against Florus, they were to use their weapons. Now the high priests assembled the multitude in the temple, and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and to salute the cohorts civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable. This the riotous party refused to do, and the remembrance of those that had been slain made the people incline to the bolder policy.

§ 4. Then every priest, and every minister of God, brought out the holy vessels, and the ornamental garments wherein they used to conduct their services, and the harpers and singers of hymns with their instruments of music fell down before the multitude, and begged of them that they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not provoke the Romans to carry off their sacred treasures. One might also see the high priests themselves, with dust sprinkled on their heads, and their bosoms bared as their clothes were rent; these besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude *en masse*, that they would not by offending in a very small matter betray their country to those that were desirous to lay it waste. They asked what benefit it would bring to the Roman soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews, or what improvement in their own fortunes would come from their not going out now to meet them? For if they saluted them civilly, all pretext for beginning a war would be cut off from Florus, and they would thereby gain their country, and freedom from all further sufferings. Besides, it would argue great weakness in them to hearken to a few riotous persons, when it behoved them, who were so numerous a body, to force the others to act soberly.

§ 5. They used these arguments to the multitude, and restrained some of the riotous by threats, and others by the respect that was paid them. They then led them out quietly and orderly to meet the soldiers, and when they were come up with them, they saluted them. But as they made no answer, the riotous cried out against Florus,

which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers therefore surrounded them at once, and struck them with their clubs, and as they fled away, the horsemen pursued them and trampled them down, so that many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, but more by their crushing one another. And there was a terrible squeeze near the gates, and as every body made haste to get before another, the flight of all was retarded. And there was a terrible destruction among those that fell down, for they were so crushed and bruised by the number of those that trampled upon them, that none of them could be recognised by his relations for burial. The soldiers also fell pell-mell upon those whom they met, and beat them, and thrust back the multitude through the place called Bezetha, forcing their way to get in, and seize upon the temple and Antonia. Florus also, being desirous to get those places into his possession, led out of the king's palace such as were with him, and did his utmost to get to the citadel. But his attempt failed, for the people turned round on him, and checked his impetuosity, and as they stood upon the tops of their houses, threw their darts at the Romans. And as they were sorely galled by those weapons that came from above, and were not able to cut their way through the multitude, who blocked up the narrow streets, they retired to the camp which was at the palace.

§ 6. But the riotous were afraid lest Florus should come upon them again, and get possession of the temple through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled the avarice of Florus, for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God, and so was desirous of getting into Antonia, he left off his attempt now the cloisters were broken down. And he sent for the high priests and the Sanhedrim, and told them that he was himself indeed going to leave the city, but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire. Thereupon they promised that everything should be secure, and that they would make no innovations, in case he would leave them one cohort only, but not the one which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore it ill-

will in consequence of what they had suffered from it; so he changed the cohort as they desired, and returned with the rest of his force to Cæsarea.

CHAP. XVI.

Cestius sends Neapolitanus the Tribune to see in what Condition the Affairs of the Jews were. Agrippa makes a Speech to the Jews to divert them from their intention of making War against the Romans.

§ 1.

FLORUS next tried another plan to bring about war, and wrote to Cestius, falsely accusing the Jews of revolting, and imputing the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretending that they had been its authors, whereas they had only been the sufferers. However, the rulers of Jerusalem were not silent upon this occasion, but also themselves wrote to Cestius, as did Berenice also, about the lawlessness of Florus against the city. And he, upon reading both accounts, consulted with his captains. Now some of them thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army, either to punish the revolt, if revolt there really was, or to make the Jews more settled if they remained faithful to the Romans, but he thought it best himself to send on one of his intimate friends to see the state of affairs, and to give him a faithful account of the state of mind of the Jews. So he sent one of his tribunes, whose name was Neapolitanus, who met with king Agrippa at Jamnia,[1] as he was returning from Alexandria, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errand he was sent.

§ 2. Now at this time the high priests, and influential persons among the Jews, as also the Sanhedrim, came to greet king Agrippa. And after they had paid him their court, they lamented their own calamities, and related to him the barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus; at which Agrippa was really very indignant, but

[1] *Ycbnah.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

craftily transferred his anger towards the Jews whom he really pitied, wishing to abate their high thoughts of themselves, and by trying to make them believe that they had not been ill treated, to dissuade them from avenging themselves. And they, being of better understanding than the rest, and because of their wealth wishing for peace, understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was meant kindly. The people also came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and greeted both Agrippa and Neapolitanus. But the wives of those that had been slain came running first of all and lamenting, and the people at their wailing turned to lamentation also, and besought Agrippa to assist them: they also loudly complained to Neapolitanus of the many miseries they had endured under Florus, and showed both him and Agrippa, when they had come into the city, how the market-place was desolate, and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neapolitanus, by means of Agrippa, to walk round the city with only one attendant as far as Siloam,[1] that he might see for himself that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans, and hated only Florus because of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the mildness of the people, and then went up to the temple, where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for their fidelity to the Romans, and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace; and having done such reverence to the temple of God as he was allowed to do, returned to Cestius.

§ 3. But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to king Agrippa and to the high priests, and begged they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and not by their silence after such great slaughter raise the suspicion that they were disposed to revolt; for they said they would seem to have been the first beginners of the war, if they did not first show who it was that began it. And it appeared plain that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an embassage. And although Agrippa thought it an invidious thing for them to

[1] The village or fountain of Siloam, *Silwân*.

appoint persons to go and accuse Florus, yet he did not think it for his interest to allow the Jews to drift into war. He therefore called the multitude together into the colonnade, and placed his sister Berenice in a conspicuous place on the house of the Asamonæans[1] (which was above the colonnade opposite the upper city, and a bridge joined the temple to the colonnade), and spoke to them as follows.

§ 4.[2] "If I saw that you were all determined to go to war with the Romans, and that the purest and most single-hearted of the people did not purpose to live in peace, I should not have come forward to speak to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel. For all discourse that tends to persuade men to do what they ought to do is superfluous, when the hearers are all agreed to do what is wrong. But because some are impelled to war because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings, and others from an unreasonable expectation of regaining their liberty, and others from cupidity and the hope that, if affairs are in confusion, they may make gain at the expense of the weak, I have thought it right to convene you all together, and to say to you what I think to be for your advantage, that so the former may grow wiser and change their minds, and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill-advisedness of some. And let not any one raise a clamour against me, if what he hears me say does not please him. For as to those who are absolutely resolved upon revolt, it will still be in their power to retain the same sentiments after my exhortation, but my discourse will fall to the ground, even with relation to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you will all keep silence. I am well aware that many declaim on the injuries that have been done you by your Roman governors,

[1] The palace of the Asamonæans was on the brow of the western hill of Jerusalem, above the causeway over which ran the road from the Temple to Herod's Palace.

[2] In this speech of king Agrippa we have an authentic account of the extent and strength of the Roman empire when the Jewish war began. He is the same Agrippa who said to Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," Acts xxvi. 28, and of whom St. Paul said, "He was expert in all the customs and questions of the Jews," ver. 3. See another intimation of the limits of the same Roman empire, Jewish War, iii. 5, § 7.—W.

and pass encomiums on liberty. But before I examine who you are and against whom you intend to fight, I shall first separate this complication of pretexts. For if you aim at avenging yourselves on those who have done you injury, why do you sing the praises of liberty? But if you think all servitude intolerable, complaint against particular governors is superfluous; for even if they treated you with moderation, it would still seem equally disgraceful to be in servitude. Consider now these cases one by one, and see how little reason there is for your going to war; and first consider the accusations you make against your Roman governors. Now one ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not to give them any provocation. But when you reproach men greatly for small offences, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries; for this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of modesty, and lay you waste openly. Now nothing so much mitigates strokes as bearing them with patience; and the quietness of those who are injured diverts injurious persons from afflicting. But suppose the Roman officials are injurious to you, and are incurably severe; yet it is not all the Romans who thus injure you, nor has the Emperor, against whom you are going to make war, injured you. For it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for those who are in the West cannot see those that are in the East; nor indeed is it easy for them there even to hear of what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war against a great many for the sake of one, and against such a mighty nation for a small cause, and that when they do not even know of what we complain. Nay, what we complain of may soon be corrected. For the same Roman governor will not continue for ever, and it is likely that his successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But if war be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities. Next, as to the desire of now recovering your liberty, it is somewhat late in the day for that, for you ought before to have striven earnestly not to have lost it. For the first experience of slavery is hard to endure, and the struggle that you might never have been subjected to it would have been just. But that

slave who has once been brought into subjection, and then revolts, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty. It was the proper time for doing all that was possible to keep out the Romans when Pompey first came into the country. But indeed our ancestors and their kings, though they were much better situated than you are, both as to money and bodies and souls, did not resist a small body of the Roman army. And yet do you, who have inherited obedience, and who are so much inferior in your circumstances to those who first submitted, venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans? Even the Athenians, who, to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city, and pursued as a fugitive in a single ship that haughty Xerxes (who sailed on the land and walked on the sea, and could not be contained by the seas, but led an army too broad for Europe), and broke the tremendous power of Asia at small Salamis,[1] are yet at this time servants to the Romans, and the orders sent from Italy manage the leading city of Greece. The Lacedæmonians also, after Thermopylæ[2] and Platæa[3] and Agesilaus' promenade through Asia, are content with the same masters. The Macedonians also, who still plume themselves on Philip and Alexander, and see the empire of the world panting for them, endure so great a change, and pay their homage to those whom fortune has advanced in their stead. Nay, ten thousand other nations have greater right than we to claim their liberty, and yet submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world has submitted. What army do you rely on? What arms do you depend on? Where is your fleet, that may sweep the Roman seas? Where the treasures that will suffice for your attack on them? Do you think that you will war against Egyptians and Arabians? Will you not carefully reflect upon the strength of the Roman empire? Will you not compare with it your own weakness? Has not your army been often beaten even by the neighbouring nations, while the power of the Romans is invincible throughout

[1] The small island of Salamis off the Piræus.
[2] The allusion is to the famous defence of the pass in 480 B.C.
[3] That is after the memorable battle of Platæa in 479 B.C.

the known world? Nay, rather, they seek for something still beyond that. For all the Euphrates is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east, nor the Ister [1] on the north, and for their southern limit Libya [2] has been traversed by them as far as countries uninhabited, as Gades [3] is their limit on the west; but they have sought for another world beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as Britain which was never known before. What then are you? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men in the world? Why does confidence stir you up against the Romans? Some one will say, It is hard to endure slavery. Yes, but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who are esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun, yet, though they inhabit so large a country, obey six Roman fasces. The same is the case with the Macedonians, who have juster reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case with the five hundred cities of Asia? Do they not without any garrison pay their homage to a single governor and to the consular fasces? Why need I speak of the Heniochi [4] and Colchians, [5] and the nation of the Tauri, [6] and those that inhabit the Bosporus, [7] and the nations about Pontus [8] and Mæotis, [9] who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own, but are now subject to three thousand armed men, and forty long ships keep in peace the sea which before was unnavigable and tempestuous? How strong a plea may Bithynia, and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the Lycians, and Cilicians, [10] put in for liberty! Yet they pay tribute without a struggle. The Thracians again, whose country ex-

[1] The *Danube*. [2] Jewish War, ii. 7, § 4.
[3] *Cadiz*.
[4] A Colchian tribe between the western edge of the Caucasus and the Black Sea.
[5] The Colchians were chiefly settled on the eastern and S.E. shores of the Black Sea.
[6] The inhabitants of the *Crimea*.
[7] The *Bosphorus*.
[8] On the S. shore of the Black Sea.
[9] The Sea of Asov.
[10] Bithynia was in the N.W. of Asia Minor; Cappadocia in the east of Asia Minor, and west of Anti Taurus; and Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia on the south coast.

tends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven, and is much more rugged and easily defended than yours, and by the rigour of its cold keeps off armies, do not they submit to two thousand Romans in garrison? Are not the Illyrians, who inhabit the adjoining country as far as Dalmatia and the Ister, governed by barely two legions; by which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Dacians?[1] As for the Dalmatians, who made such frequent insurrections to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued but that they always gathered their forces together again and revolted, are they not now very quiet under one Roman legion? However, if great advantages might provoke any people to revolt, it might the Gauls most of all, who are so thoroughly fortified by nature, on the east by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenees, and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such bulwarks, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them, and have, one may say, the fountains of happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of their good things over almost the whole world, yet they endure being tributary to the Romans, and deriving their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, since they warred for eighty years to preserve their liberty; but because they were cowed not only by the power of the Romans, but by their good fortune, which does more for them than their arms. They are therefore kept in servitude by twelve hundred soldiers, a number hardly as many as their cities. Nor has the gold dug out of the mines of Spain sufficed to support the war to preserve Spanish liberty, nor their vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea, nor the martial tribes of the Lusitanians[2] and Cantabri,[3] nor the neighbouring ocean

[1] Dacia included Wallachia, and portions of Moldavia, Transylvania, Hungary, &c.

[2] Lusitania was on the west side of the Spanish Peninsula, and included Portugal.

[3] The Cantabrians inhabited the north side of the Spanish Peninsula east of the *Asturias*, and are supposed to be represented by the *Basques*.

with its tide, which was yet terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds on the Pyrenees, and have subdued these nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to conquer and so remote from Rome. Who is there among you again who has not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have no doubt yourselves frequently observed their strength and size, since the Romans have them among their captives everywhere. Yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have spirit even greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine as the boundary of their impetuosity, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive became their servants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had. For the Romans sailed to them and subdued them, though they were surrounded by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than our world, and four legions hold so large an island. And why should I say more? since even the Parthians, that most warlike race, lords of so many nations, and possessed of such mighty power, send hostages to the Romans; and you may see in Italy the nobility of the east on the pretext of peace submitting to serve them. Now as almost all people under the sun pay homage to the Roman arms, will you be the only people that will war against them? Will you disregard the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their brags about the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phœnician extraction, fell by the hand of Scipio? Nor indeed have the Cyrenæans [1] of Lacedæmonian extraction, nor the Marmaridæ,[2] a nation extending as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor the Syrtes,[3] terrible to such as barely

[1] The people of Cyrene, now *el-Krenna*, in the *Tripoli* district.

[2] The principal indigenous tribe W. of Egypt, between Cyrene and the Nile.

[3] The people of the Syrtica Regio, between the Greater Syrtis, *Gulf of Sidra*, and the Lesser Syrtis, *Gulf of Gabes*.

hear them mentioned, nor the Nasamones[1] and Moors,[2] and the immense multitude of the Numidians,[3] been able to put a stop to Roman valour. As for the third part of the habitable earth [Africa] (whose nations are not easy even to number), which is bounded by the Atlantic Sea and the pillars of Hercules,[4] and supports an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians as far as the Red Sea, this the Romans have subdued entirely; and besides the annual fruits of the earth, which feed the population of Rome eight months in the year, its inhabitants over and above pay all sorts of tribute, and readily afford revenues for the necessities of the government, not like you esteeming subordination to Rome a disgrace, though they have but one Roman legion quartered among them. And indeed what need is there for showing you the power of the Romans in remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from your neighbour Egypt, which extends as far as the Ethiopians and Arabia Felix,[5] and borders upon India, and contains seven million five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be inferred from the revenue of the poll tax; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it has in Alexandria a great incentive to revolt, because it is so populous and rich, and also exceeding large, its length being thirty furlongs, and its breadth no less than ten; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year; and besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome that feeds its population four months [in the year]: it is also fortified on all sides either by almost impassable deserts, or by seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes. But none of these things has been found too strong for the good fortune of the Romans; but two legions that are quartered in that city are a bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the nobility of the Macedonians. Whom then will you take for your allies for the

[1] One of the most powerful nomadic tribes on the N. coast of Libya.
[2] The inhabitants of Mauretania, on the N.W. coast of Africa.
[3] Numidia was the central tract of country on the N. coast of Africa.
[4] The two hills, Calpe and Abyla, on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar.
[5] The Peninsula of Arabia.

war from the uninhabited parts of the world? For all that are in the inhabited part of the world are Romans; unless indeed any of you extends his hopes beyond the Euphrates, and supposes that those of your own nation that dwell in Adiabene [1] will come to your assistance. But certainly they will not embarrass themselves with so great a war on unjustifiable grounds, nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do; for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to violate its conditions, if any people under their rule march against the Romans. Nothing remains, therefore, but that you have recourse to divine assistance; but this also is already on the side of the Romans; for it is impossible that so vast an empire should be maintained without God's favour. Reflect also how impossible it will be for you zealously to observe your religious customs, which are hard to be observed even when you fight against those whom you are easily able to conquer; and how can you then most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? And if you keep the sabbath days, and will not be prevailed on to do any thing on them, you will easily be taken, as your forefathers were by Pompey, who pushed on his siege most vigorously on those days on which the besieged rested. But if in time of war you transgress the laws of your country, I cannot tell on what account you will afterwards go to war. For your concern is but one, not to break any of your country's laws. And how will you call upon God to assist you, when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now all men enter into war either relying on divine or on human assistance; but since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for war choose evident destruction. What hinders you from slaying your children and wives with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours? For by this mad prank you would any way escape the reproach of being beaten. But it is well, my friends, it is well, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee impending dirty weather, and not to sail

[1] One of the provinces of Assyria. Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

out of port into the midst of the storm to certain ruin (for we justly pity those that fall into great misfortunes without foreseeing them, but he who rushes into manifest ruin gains reproaches as well). For certainly no one can imagine that one can war by agreement, or that when the Romans have got you in their power, they will treat you with moderation, and will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation. Nor will those of you who shall survive the war be able to find a place where to flee to, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have hereafter. And the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but those that dwell in other cities also; for there is no people in the world who have not some of you among them. And all of these your enemies will slay if you go to war, and so every city which has Jews in it will be filled with slaughter because of the ill-advisedness of a few men; and they who slay them will be pardoned. And if that slaughter should not take place, consider how wicked a thing it is to take up arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not on your children and wives, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred precincts. Spare the temple, and preserve the sanctuary with its holy things for yourselves. For if the Romans get you in their power, they will no longer abstain from them, when their former forbearance shall have been so ungratefully requited. I call your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and our common country, to witness that I have not kept back any thing that is for your safety. And if you will follow my good advice, which you ought to do, you will have peace in common with me; but if you shall be led on by passion, you will incur danger which I shall be free from."

§ 5. When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister wept, and by their tears repressed a great deal of the violence of the people. But still they cried out that they would not fight against the Romans, but they would against Florus because of what they had suffered at his hands. To this Agrippa replied, that what they had already done was like warring against the Romans. "For you have not paid the tribute which is due to the Emperor, and you have

cut off the porticoes from the tower Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt, if you will but join these together again, and pay your tribute. For the citadel does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute money to Florus."

CHAP. XVII.

How the War of the Jews with the Romans began. Also concerning Manahem.

§ 1.

THE people hearkened to this advice, and went up into the temple with the king and Berenice, and began to rebuild the porticoes; the rulers also and senators divided among them the villages, and collected the tribute, and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus Agrippa put a stop for the present to the war which seemed imminent. Moreover, he tried to persuade the multitude to obey Florus, until the Emperor should send out his successor. But they were very provoked at this advice, and cast reproaches upon the king, and bade him go out of the city; nay, some of the riotous had the impudence to throw stones at him. So as the king saw that the violence of those that were for innovations was not to be restrained, and was very angry at the insults he had received, he sent their rulers and influential persons to Cæsarea[1] to Florus, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, and departed himself to his own kingdom.

§ 2. Now at this time some of those that mainly brought about the war assembled together and marched against a certain fortress called Masada.[2] They took it by treachery, and slew the Roman garrison that was in it, and put in some of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, per-

[1] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisaryeh*.
[2] *Sebbeh*. Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.

suaded those that officiated in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the beginning of our war with the Romans; for the priests rejected sacrifices both on behalf of the Emperor and the Romans generally. And though many of the high priests and principal men besought them not to omit the customary sacrifice for their emperors, they would not be prevailed upon, relying much upon their numbers (for the most vigorous of the innovators co-operated with them), but paying the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

§ 3. Thereupon the influential persons assembled together and conferred with the high priests and the leading men among the Pharisees, and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. And they determined to try what they could do with the riotous by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, which was the gate of the inner temple that faced east. And first they inveighed at some length against this attempt at a revolt, and at bringing so great a war upon their country, and next they showed their pretext to be unreasonable, for they said that their forefathers had mainly adorned their temple with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them by foreign nations, and had not only not rejected any person's sacrifice, (for that was most impious,) but had also placed donations round the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time. They added that they did now but irritate the Romans to take up arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and introduced a novel and strange divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, if among the Jews only no foreigner might either sacrifice or worship. And whereas if such a law should ever be introduced in the case of an individual, they would be indignant at it, as an instance of definite inhumanity, they had no regard to the Romans and the Emperor being excluded from such privileges! However, they could not but fear, if they rejected their sacrifices, that they would not be allowed to offer their own, and that their

city would be put out of the ban of the empire, unless they grew wiser quickly, and restored the sacrifices as formerly, and indeed amended their insolence before the report of it came to the ears of those that had been insulted.

§ 4. And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skilful in the customs of their country, who declared that all their forefathers had received sacrifices from foreigners. But not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said, nay, even those that ministered in the temple would not attend to their divine service, but tried to stir up war. So the influential persons, perceiving that the sedition was too much for them to put down, and that the danger which would arise from the Romans would come upon themselves first, tried to secure their own personal safety, and sent some ambassadors to Florus, the chief of whom was Simon the son of Ananias, and others to Agrippa, among whom the most eminent were Saul and Antipas and Costobarus, who were of the king's kindred. And they begged both Florus and Agrippa to come with an army to the city, and cut off the sedition before it should grow too great to be put down. Now this terrible message was good news to Florus, and because his design was to kindle a war, he gave the ambassadors no answer at all. But Agrippa was equally solicitous for those that were revolting, and for those against whom the war was being stirred up, and wished to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews; he was also aware that it was not for his own advantage that the disturbances should continue, so he sent three thousand horse to the assistance of the people from Auranitis and Batanæa and Trachonitis,[1] under Darius the master of his horse, and Philip (the son of Jacimus) the general of his army.

§ 5. Upon this the influential persons and the high priests, and all those of the multitude that desired peace, took courage, and occupied the upper city; for the seditious party were masters of the lower city and the temple. And they hurled stones and slings perpetually against one another, and threw darts continually on both sides; and sometimes they made sorties by troops, and

[1] Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

fought hand to hand, the seditious being superior in boldness, but the king's soldiers in skill. These last strove chiefly to make themselves masters of the temple, and to drive out those who profaned the sanctuary; while the seditious with Eleazar, besides what they had already, strove to get possession of the upper city. Thus there was perpetual slaughter on both sides for seven days; and each side kept the ground they had won.

§ 6. Now the next day was the festival of Xylophory, at which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar (that there might never be a want of fuel for the fire which was unquenchable and always burning); upon that day the seditious party excluded their adversaries from the observance of this part of religion. And when they had joined to themselves many of the Sicarii, (that was the name given to such robbers as had under their bosoms swords called Sicæ,) who rushed up with those that were not so well armed, they grew bolder, and carried their undertaking further; insomuch, that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their numbers and daring, and gave way, and were forced out of the upper city. They then attacked and set fire to the house of Ananias the high priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice: after which they set fire to the archives, hastening to burn the bonds belonging to creditors, and so to cancel all debts; and this was done to gain over the multitude of debtors, and that they might persuade the poor to join with less fear in insurrection against the more wealthy. And when the keepers of the records fled away, they set fire to them. And when they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they rushed against the enemy. Thereupon some of the influential persons and high priests went into vaults under ground and concealed themselves, while others fled with the king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately, among whom were Ananias the high priest, and his brother Ezekias, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditious were contented with the victory they had got, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no further.

§ 7. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth day of the month Lous, they made an assault upon Antonia, and

besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and took it, and slew them, and set the citadel on fire; after which they marched to the palace, where the king's soldiers were fled, and divided themselves into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls. As for those that were within, none had the courage to sally out, because those that assaulted them were so numerous; but they posted themselves among the breast-works and turrets, and shot at the besiegers, whereby many of the robbers fell under the walls. Nor did they cease to fight with one another either by night or by day, as the seditious supposed that those within would be exhausted for want of food, and those within supposed the besiegers would be worn out by their exertions.

§ 8. In the mean time one Manahem, the son of Judas who was called the Galilæan, (who was a very cunning sophist, and had formerly reproached the Jews in the days of Cyrenius, because after God they were subject to the Romans,) took some influential persons with him, and went to Masada, where he broke open king Herod's armoury, and gave arms not only to his own people, but to other robbers also, and made them his body-guards, and returned with the state of a king to Jerusalem, and became the leader of the sedition, and directed the siege. But they wanted proper instruments, and it was evidently impracticable to undermine the wall, because the darts came down upon them from above. So they dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers and made it totter, and having done that, they set on fire what was combustible, and left it, and when the foundations were burnt below, the tower fell down suddenly. But then another wall was apparent, that had been built within; for the besieged were aware of what they were doing, and probably the tower shook as it was being undermined, so they made for themselves another fortification. And when the besiegers saw this unexpectedly, as they thought they had already gained the place, they were dismayed, but those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and asked that they might go out upon capitulation. And this was granted to the king's soldiers and their own countrymen only, who went out accordingly, but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected. For

they were not able to force their way through so great a multitude, and they thought it would be a disgrace to ask them to give them their right hand for their security, and besides, if they should give it them, they could not depend upon it. So they deserted their camp, as it was easy to capture, and fled to the royal towers, called respectively Hippicus and Phasaelus and Mariamne. But Manahem and his men rushed to the place where the soldiers had fled from, and slew as many of them as they could come up with before they got up to the towers, and plundered their baggage, and set fire to their camp. This was done on the sixth day of the month Gorpiæus.

§ 9. And the next day the high priest Ananias was captured where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct of the royal palace, and was slain with his brother Ezekias by the robbers: and the seditious diligently guarded the towers, lest any of the soldiers should escape. Now the overthrow of the strong places and the death of the high priest Ananias so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel, and, as he thought he had no rival to dispute the management of affairs with him, he was an insupportable tyrant. But Eleazar and his party, after they had interchanged their ideas, rose up against him, on the ground that it was not right, as they had revolted from the Romans out of the desire of liberty, to surrender that liberty to any of their own people, and to put up with a master, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than themselves; as also, if they were obliged to set some one over their public affairs, it was fit they should give that privilege to any one rather than to him. So they made an assault upon him in the temple; for he had gone up there to worship in a pompous manner, adorned with royal garments, and had his followers with him armed. And when Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, so did also the rest of the people, and taking up stones to attack him with they threw them at the sophist, for they thought if he were once killed that the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while, but when they perceived that the whole multitude were rushing upon them, they fled which way every one was able: and those

that were taken were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. But a few got off safe and privately escaped to Masada,[1] among whom was Eleàzar, the son of Jairus, who was akin to Manahem, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterwards. As for Manahem himself, he fled to the place called Ophla,[2] and there lay skulking in private; but they took him alive, and dragged him out into the open, and tortured him with many sorts of torments, and killed him, and they did the same to those that were captains under him also, and particularly to the principal instrument of his tyranny, whose name was Absalom.

§ 10. The people then, as I said, co-operated in this, hoping to put a stop to the whole sedition; but others were in no haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, now they had slain Manahem. It is true, that when the people earnestly desired that they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the more earnest about it, till Metilius, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar and his party, asking for their lives only, and agreeing to deliver up their arms and whatever else they had with them. The others readily complied with their request, and sent to them Gorion the son of Nicomedes, and Ananias the son of Sadduk, and Judas the son of Jonathan, to give them the security of their right hands and of their oaths. After this Metilius brought down his soldiers, who, as long as they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of the seditious, nor was there any manifestation of treachery; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and swords, and without any further suspicion of harm were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them in a violent manner, and surrounded them and slew them, while they neither resisted nor begged for mercy, but only cried out upon this breach of the articles of capitulation and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously butchered except Metilius, for when he begged for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew and be circumcised, they saved him only alive. The loss to the Romans was but light, there being no more than a few

[1] *Sebbeh.*

[2] Ophel, immediately south of the Temple at Jerusalem.

slain out of an immense army, but still it appeared to be a prelude to the Jews' own destruction. And men made public lamentation when they saw that the causes of the war were incurable, and that the city was polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some wrath from God, even though they should escape vengeance from the Romans, and the city was full of dejection, and every one of the moderate men in it were in great alarm, as likely themselves to be punished for the seditious. And indeed it so happened, that this butchery took place on the sabbath day, on which day the Jews have a respite from their works on account of divine worship.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Calamities and Slaughter that came upon the Jews.

§ 1.

NOW the people of Cæsarea[1] slew the Jews that were among them the very same day and hour, as if by divine Providence, so that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cæsarea was emptied of them. And Florus arrested such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the dockyards. At this stroke that the Jews received at Cæsarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia[2] and Sebonitis[3] and Gerasa[4] and Pella[5] and Scythopolis.[6] And after them they attacked Gadara[7] and Hippos[8] and Gaulanitis,[9] and some cities they destroyed, and some they set on fire, and then

[1] *Kaisarîyeh.* [2] *'Ammân.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 4.
[3] Essebon, Heshbon, *Hesbân.* Antiq. xii. 4, § 11; xiii. 15, § 4; xv. 8, § 5.
[4] *Jerâsh.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8. [5] *Fahîl.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.
[6] Bethshean, *Beisân.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.
[7] *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[8] *Sûsiyeh.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7. [9] Jewish War, i. 4, § 4.

went to Kedasa[1] which belonged to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais[2] and Gaba[3] and Cæsarea. Nor were either Sebaste[4] or Ascalon[5] able to oppose their violence; but when they had burnt these to the ground, they entirely demolished Anthedon[6] and Gaza.[7] Many also of the villages that were round every one of these cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter made of the men who were taken in them.

§ 2. However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the number of the men whom they slew, for they killed those whom they took in their cities, and that not only out of the hatred they bore them, as formerly, but now to prevent the danger under which they were from them. And dire confusion spread through all Syria, and every city was divided into two armies encamped against one another, and the preservation of the one party lay in the destruction of the other; so the days were spent in shedding blood, and the nights in fear, which last was of the two the more terrible. For when the Syrians thought they had killed all the Jews, they were suspicious also of the Judaizers, and as each side did not care to slay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them when they were mixed with the others, as if they were certainly foreigners. Moreover, desire of gain was a provocation even to such as had of old appeared very mild and gentle to kill the opposite party; for they plundered without fear the effects of the slain, and carried off the spoils of those whom they slew to their own houses, as if they had been gained on the field of battle; and he was esteemed a man of mark who got the greatest share, as having overcome the greatest number of enemies. It was common to see cities full of dead bodies lying unburied, and those of old men and infants, all dead and scattered about together; dead women also lay amongst them, without any covering for

[1] Kedesh Naphtali, *Kades.* Antiq. v. i. § 24; ix. 11, § 1; xiii. 5, § 6. Jewish War, iv. 2, § 3.
[2] *'Akka.*
[3] *Jebâta.* Life, § 24. Antiq. xv. 8, § 5; Jewish War, iii. 3, § 1.
[4] Samaria, *Sebustieh.*
[5] *'Ascalân.* Jewish War, i. 9, § 2.
[6] Agrippias. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2. [7] *Ghuzzeh.*

their nakedness; and the whole province was full of inexpressible calamities, while the threats of still more barbarous practices everywhere inspired greater terror than what had been already perpetrated.

§ 3. Hitherto the conflicts had been between Jews and foreigners; but when they made a raid upon Scythopolis,[1] they found Jews that acted as enemies; for they stood in battle array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety to the tie of kindred, and fought against their own countrymen. However, their excessive zeal was suspected. For those of Scythopolis were afraid that they would make an assault upon the city in the night-time, and so, to their great detriment, would excuse themselves to their fellow-countrymen for their defection from them. So they commanded them, if they would confirm their concord and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, to go out of the city with their families to a neighbouring grove. And when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis were quiet for two days, to tempt them to be secure, but on the third night they watched their opportunity, and cut all their throats, some being off their guard, and some asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand, and they plundered them of all that they had.

§ 4. It is worth relating what befell Simon, who was the son of one Saul (a man of reputation among the Jews), and eminent for strength of body and boldness, although he abused them both to the hurt of his fellow-countrymen. For he went out every day and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis, and frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his army's conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the slaughter of those of the same nation as himself. For when the people of Scythopolis surrounded them and threw their darts at them in the grove, he drew his sword, but did not attack any of the enemy (for he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude), but he cried out in a very moving manner, and said, "O, ye people of Scythopolis,

[1] Bethshean, *Beisân*.

I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, in giving you such proof of my fidelity to you, by slaying so many of those that were my kinsmen. Wherefore we very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners, as we treated our own nation most impiously. I will therefore die, polluted wretch as I am, by mine own hands; for it is not fit I should die by the hand of our enemies; and the same action will be to me both a punishment for my great crimes, and a testimony of my courage to my commendation, that so no one of our enemies may be able to brag that it was he that slew me, or insult me as I fall." When he had said this, he looked round about him upon his family, with eyes of mingled pity and rage (that family consisted of his wife and children and aged parents); and first he took his father by his grey hairs, and ran his sword through him, and after him he did the same to his mother, who was not reluctant, and after them he did the same to his wife and children, each all but offering themselves to his sword, being desirous to anticipate the enemy. And when he had slain all his family, he stood upon their bodies in the sight of all, and stretching out his right hand, that his action might be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword in his own bowels. This young man is worthy of pity on account of the strength of his body and courage of his soul; but suffered what he deserved because of his fidelity to foreigners.

§ 5. Besides this butchery at Scythopolis, each of the other cities rose up against the Jews that were in them, for those of Ascalon[1] slew two thousand five hundred, and those of Ptolemais[2] slew two thousand, and put not a few into bonds; and those of Tyre[3] put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison; moreover, those of Hippos[4] and Gadara[5] did the same, for they put to death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody; as did the rest of the cities of Syria, according as each of them either hated or feared the Jews. Only the Antiochians, the Sidonians, and Apameans,[6] spared

1 *'Ascalân.* 2 *'Akka.* 3 *Sûr.*
4 *Sûsiyeh.* 5 *Umm Keis.*
6 The people of Apamea, *Kul'at el-Medyk.*

those that dwelt with them, and had not the heart either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. Perhaps indeed they spared them because their own numbers were so great that they despised their attempts, but I think most of this favour was owing to their pitying those whom they did not see making any innovations. As for the Gerasenes, they did no harm to those that abode with them, and conducted those who had a mind to go away as far as their borders.

§ 6. There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom. He had himself gone to Antioch to Cestius Gallus, but had left one of his companions, whose name was Noarus, who was akin to king Sohemus, to see to public affairs. Now there came seventy men from Batanæa,[1] who were the most considerable of their citizens for their birth and understanding, and asked for some troops, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain the insurgents. Then Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those seventy, which bold action he ventured upon without consulting Agrippa, and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, although he brought ruin on the kingdom thereby: and he continued thus cruelly treating the nation contrary to the laws, until Agrippa was informed of it, who did not indeed dare to put him to death because of Sohemus, but deposed him from his official position. As to the seditious, they seized the fortress which was above Jericho, called Cypros,[2] and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications. And about the same time, the multitude of the Jews that were at Machærus[3] urged the Romans who were in garrison to evacuate the place and deliver it up to them. And they, being afraid that the place would be taken by storm, made an agreement with them to depart upon certain conditions; and when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel, which the people of Machærus fortified with a garrison and occupied themselves.

[1] Jewish War, i. 20, § 4. [2] Jewish War, i. 21, § 4.
[3] *Mekaur.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.

§ 7. As for Alexandria, the dissension between the people of that place and the Jews was perpetual from the time when Alexander [the Great], finding the Jews very ready in assisting him against the Egyptians, gave them as a reward for that assistance equal privileges in the city with the Greeks themselves. And this honour continued to them under his successors, who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live purer, if less mixed up with foreigners, and they gave them this further privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. And when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Cæsar, nor any of his successors, thought of diminishing the honours which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose between them and the Greeks, and although the governors of both these nations did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorders among them broke out into a greater flame. For when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an embassage they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews and Greeks came flocking promiscuously to the amphitheatre; and when the Greeks noticed the Jews, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies upon them, and rushed at them and laid violent hands upon them. As for the rest of the Jews they were slain as they ran away; but there were three men whom they captured and hauled along to burn them alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them, and at first threw stones at the Greeks, but after that they took torches, and rushed with violence into the amphitheatre, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man; and would soon have done so, had not Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, restrained their passion. However, he did not first teach them wisdom by arms, but privately sent among them some of the principal men, and entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them. But the seditious made a jest of the entreaty of Tiberius, and railed at him.

§ 8. Now when he perceived that those who were for innovation would not be pacified till some great calamity

should overtake them, he let loose upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who by chance were there from Libya[1] to the ruin of the Jews. And he permitted them not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta (where the Jews lived together), and did as they were bidden, though not without bloodshed. For the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the front, and made resistance for a great while; but when once they gave way, they were destroyed freely, and their destruction was complete, some being taken in the open, and others forced into their houses, which were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans. And no mercy was shown to infants, or regard paid to the aged, but they went on slaughtering persons of every age, till all the place overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand lay dead upon heaps. Nor would the remainder have been spared had they not betaken themselves to supplication, when Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire. And they, being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria bore such excessive hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them, and it was a hard thing to make them leave even their dead bodies.

§ 9. Such was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Thereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, as the Jews were everywhere involved in war: so he took from Antioch[2] the twelfth legion entire, and from each of the rest he selected two thousand, with six cohorts of foot and four troops of horse, besides those auxiliary troops which were sent by the kings; of which Antiochus sent two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, all archers; and Agrippa sent the same number of foot, and one thousand horse; Sohemus also followed with four thousand, a third of which were horse, and the rest archers; and thus did Cestius set out for Ptolemais.[3]

[1] Jewish War, ii. 7, § 4. [2] On the Orontes. [3] *'Akka.*

There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from various cities, who indeed had not the same skill in war as the soldiers, but made up in zeal and hatred to the Jews what they wanted in skill. Agrippa himself also was with Cestius, both as a guide in his march over the country, and an adviser of what was fit to be done. And Cestius took part of his forces, and marched against Zabulon,[1] a strong city of Galilee, which was called the city of men, and divides Ptolemais from our nation. This city he found deserted by its men, the population having fled to the mountains, and full of all sorts of good things; these he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although its houses were of admirable beauty, and built like those in Tyre and Sidon and Berytus.[2] After this he overran all the country, and plundered whatever came in his way, and set fire to the villages round about, and returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, continued plundering, the Jews plucked up their courage again, for they knew that Cestius had retired, and unexpectedly fell upon those that were left behind, and cut to pieces about two thousand of them.

§ 10. And Cestius himself after leaving Ptolemais arrived at Cæsarea, but he sent on part of his army to Joppa,[3] and gave order, that if they could surprise that city they should occupy it; but if the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, they were then to wait for him and the rest of the army. So some of them made a forced march by the sea-side, and some by land, and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease: and as the inhabitants had made no provision beforehand for flight, and far less for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. And the number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner Cestius sent also a considerable body of horse to the toparchy of Narbata[4] that was near Cæsarea, who devastated the country, and slew a great multitude of its inhabitants, and plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

[1] Apparently Chabolo, *Kâbûl*. Life, §§ 43, 44.
[2] *Beirût*. [3] *Jaffa*.
[4] So called from the town of Narbata. Jewish War, ii. 14, § 5.

§ 11. Cestius also sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, entrusting to him as large a force as he thought sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by Sepphoris,[1] the strongest city of Galilee, with acclamations of joy, and at this wise conduct the rest of the cities were quiet. But the insurgents and robbers fled to the mountain which lies in the very middle of Galilee opposite Sepphoris, and is called Asamon.[2] And Gallus led his forces against them. Now while these men were on higher ground, they easily threw their darts upon the Romans as they approached them, and slew about two hundred of them; but when the Romans made a *détour* and got on higher ground still, they were soon beaten, nor could they who had only light armour on stand a hand to hand fight with men armed all over; nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemy's horse; so that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to get at, while over two thousand were slain.

CHAP. XIX.

What Cestius did against the Jews; and how, upon his besieging Jerusalem, he most unexpectedly retired from that City. Also how he was harassed by the Jews in his Retreat.

§ 1.

THEN Gallus, seeing nothing more that looked like innovation in Galilee, returned with his army to Cæsarea. But Cestius removed from there with his whole army, and marched to Antipatris;[3] and when he heard that a large Jewish force was concentrated in a certain tower called Aphek,[4] he sent a party on to fight them. But they dispersed the Jews by fright before it came to a battle: so they went on, and finding their camp deserted burnt it, as also the villages that lay near it. And when Cestius had marched from Antipatris to Lydda,[5] he found

[1] *Sefûrieh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.
[2] Probably *Jebel Jurmuk.*
[3] *Râs el-'Ain.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 7.
[4] Not identified.
[5] *Ludd.* Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

the city empty of its men, for the whole multitude had gone up to Jerusalem for the feast of Tabernacles. But he slew fifty of those that showed themselves, and burnt the city, and then marched on, and ascending by Beth-horon,[1] pitched his camp at a certain place called Gabao,[2] fifty furlongs from Jerusalem.

§ 2. Now when the Jews saw the war already approaching their metropolis, they left the feast and betook themselves to their arms, and taking courage greatly from their numbers, rushed into the fight without order and with a great noise, and without paying any consideration to the rest of the seventh day, although the Sabbath was the day to which they paid usually the greatest regard. But the fury which made them forget their piety made them prevail over their enemies in the fight. With such violence indeed did they fall upon the Romans, as to break their ranks, and march through the midst of them, making great slaughter as they went. And had not the horse and such of the foot as were not yet tired out in the action wheeled round, and come up to the aid of that part of the army which had not yet given way, Cestius and his whole army would have been in danger. However, five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain, of whom four hundred were foot and the rest horse, while the Jews lost only twenty-two, of whom the most valiant were the kinsmen of Monobazus king of Adiabene,[3] whose names were Monobazus and Cenedæus, and next to them were Niger of Peræa,[4] and Silas of Babylon (who had deserted to the Jews from king Agrippa, for he had formerly served in his army). When the Jews were checked in front they retired into the city, but Simon, the son of Gioras, fell upon the rear of the Romans, as they were ascending Beth-horon, and threw it into disorder, and carried off many of the beasts of burden, and led them into the city. And as Cestius tarried there three days,

[1] *Beit-'Ur.* Antiq. v. 1, § 17; ix. 9, § 1; xii. 7, § 1; 10, § 5; xiii. 1, § 3. Jewish War, ii. 12, § 2; 19, § 8.
[2] Gibeon, *el-Jîb.* Antiq. v. 1, § 16; vii. 1, § 3; 11, § 7; 12, § 1. Jewish War, ii. 19, § 7.
[3] Antiq. xx. 2, §§ 1, 3; Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.
[4] Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.

the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and guarded the entrances into the city, and appeared resolved not to remain quiet, when once the Romans should begin to march.

§ 3. Thereupon Agrippa observing that the Romans were in danger, as such an immense multitude of their enemies occupied the mountains, determined to try the effect of argument on the Jews; thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting, or at least detach from the opposite party all that did not agree with them. So he sent Borcæus and Phœbus, the persons of his party that were best known to them, and promised them the right hand of Cestius, and the entire forgiveness of the Romans for what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them. But the insurgents, fearing that the whole multitude in hope of indemity would go over to Agrippa, proceeded to kill his ambassadors. Accordingly they slew Phœbus before he said a word, but Borcæus was only wounded, and prevented his fate by flight; and those of the people who were angry at this the seditious beat with stones and clubs, and drove before them into the city.

§ 4. Then Cestius, observing that this discord among the Jews gave him a good opportunity to attack them, led forward his whole army, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called Scopos,[1] which was seven furlongs from the city, but he did not assault the city for three days, expecting perhaps that those within would surrender, and meantime he sent out a great many of his soldiers into the neighbouring villages to seize corn; but on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth day of the month Hyperberetæus, when he had put his army in battle-array, he led it into the city. Now the people were kept under by the insurgents; and the insurgents themselves were greatly dismayed at the good order of the Romans, and retired from the suburbs to the inner parts of the city and the temple. But when Cestius was come into the

[1] That is, Watchtower. The hill on the road leading northwards from Jerusalem.

city, he set the part called Bezetha, which is also called Cænopolis,[1] on fire, as he did also what was called the Timber-market: after which he went into the upper city, and pitched his camp opposite the royal palace.[2] And had he but at this very time attempted to get within the walls by force, he would have taken the city at once, and the war would have been put an end to. But Tyrannius Priscus, the quarter-master of the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been bribed by Florus, and diverted him from that attempt; and that was why the war lasted so very long, and why the Jews were involved in such irremediable calamities.

§ 5. Meantime many of the principal men of the city, persuaded by Ananus the son of Jonathan, invited Cestius into the city, promising to open the gates to him. But he neglected this offer, partly from his anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not altogether trust them, so he delayed the matter so long that the insurgents perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and drove them into their houses, pelting them with stones, while they themselves stood at regular intervals on the towers, and threw their darts at those that were trying to get over the wall. So the Romans made their attack against the wall on all sides for five days, but to no purpose; but on the sixth day Cestius took a great many picked men and archers, and attempted to break into the temple on its north side. But the Jews beat them off from the portico, and repulsed them several times when they got near the wall, till at last the shower of darts beat them back and made them retire. But the front rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall, and those that were behind them rested their shields on them, and those that were next did the same, and so guarded themselves by forming what they call Testudo,[3] upon which the darts that were thrown fell and glided off without doing any harm; so the soldiers undermined the wall without being themselves hurt, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

[1] That is, New Town, to the north of the temple.
[2] Herod's palace, on the western hill, near the *Jaffa Gate*.
[3] That is, the back of a tortoise. See Livy, xxxiv. 39; xliv. 9.

§ 6. And now a dreadful panic seized upon the insurgents, insomuch that many of them fled at once from the city, as though it were likely to be taken immediately. And the people upon this took courage, and where the wicked of the city gave way, there did they come to open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, would certainly have taken the city at once. But it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion God had already to the sanctuary because of the wicked of the city, that he hindered the war being put an end to that very day.

§ 7. Cestius, however, not knowing either the despair of the besieged, or the friendly spirit of the people, suddenly recalled his soldiers, and despairing of taking the city, most unexpectedly retired from it, without having received any reverse. And at this unexpected retreat of his, the robbers resumed their courage, and harassed the rear of his army, and slew a great number both of horse and foot. That night Cestius bivouacked at the camp which was at Scopos, and as he retired further next day, he thereby invited the enemy still more to follow him, who pressed upon his rear and slew the men there, and also fell upon each flank and threw darts at them obliquely. Nor durst those that were in the rear turn back upon those who wounded them behind, for they imagined that the number of those that pursued them was immense; nor did they venture to check those that pressed them on each side, because they were heavy armed and afraid of breaking their ranks, and because they saw the Jews were light armed and so nimble in attack, and this was why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to retaliate upon their enemies. So they were galled all the way, and those that fell out of their ranks were slain, and many perished thus, among whom were Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, and Longinus the tribune of the soldiers, and Æmilius Jucundus, the commander of a troop of horse. And it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabáo,[1] their former camp, and that not without the loss of most of their baggage. There Cestius stayed two days, and was

[1] Gibeon, *el-Jîb*. Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

in great distress to know what he should do, but when, on the third day, he saw a still greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about full of Jews, he perceived that delay would be to his detriment, and that if he stayed any longer there, he should have still more enemies upon him.

§ 8. That therefore he might flee the faster, he gave orders to abandon whatever might hinder the army's march. So they killed the mules and other beasts of burden, excepting those that carried the darts and engines of war, for they retained these for their own use, principally because they were afraid that the Jews would seize upon them. He then led on his army to Beth-horon.[1] Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places, but when they were crowded together in their descent through defiles, then some of them got before and hindered them from getting out of them, and others of them thrust the rear ranks down into the ravines, and the whole multitude lined the heights on each side of their march, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In these circumstances the foot knew not how to defend themselves, and danger pressed the horse still more, for they were so shot at with darts that they could not keep their ranks as they marched along the road, and the heights were so steep that the cavalry were not able to get at the enemy. And on each side were precipices and ravines into which they slipped and rolled down, and they had neither place to flee to nor any plan for their defence; till the distress they were in was at last so great, that they betook themselves to lamentation, and to such mournful wailing as men use in the utmost despair; and this was re-echoed by the cheers and shouts of the Jews, who were at once both glad and angry. Indeed the Jews would have almost taken Cestius' entire army prisoners, had not night come on, when the Romans fled to Beth-horon, and the Jews occupied all the places round about, and watched for their coming out.

§ 9. Then Cestius, despairing of an open road, deliberated how best he might run away, and when he had

[1] *Beit-'Ur.* Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

picked out four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the intrenchments, and gave orders, that when they mounted guard they should set up their standards, so that the Jews might believe that the entire army was there still, while he himself took the rest of his men with him, and quietly marched thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived in the morning that the camp was deserted, they rushed at the four hundred who had deluded them, and quickly slew them with their darts, and pursued after Cestius. But he had already got the start of them during a great part of the night, and marched still quicker when it was day; so that the soldiers in their panic and fear left behind them their battering-rams and engines for throwing missiles, and most of their other *matériel* of war, which the Jews then captured and afterwards used against those that had left them behind. And they went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris,[1] after which, seeing they could not overtake them, they returned, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and, gathering the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, returned singing songs of triumph to their metropolis: for they themselves had lost a few only, while they had slain of the Romans five thousand three hundred foot and three hundred and eighty horse. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dius, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

[1] *Râs.el-'Ain.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 7.

CHAP. XX.

Cestius sends Ambassadors to Nero. The People of Damascus slay those Jews that dwelt with them. The People of Jerusalem, after they had left off pursuing Cestius, return to the City, and get things ready for its Defence, and make a great many Generals for their Armies, and among others Josephus, the Writer of these Books. Some Account of his Administration.

§ 1.

AFTER this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship going to sink. Thus Costobarus and Saul, who were brothers, ran away from the city, with Philip the son of Jacimus, who was the commander of king Agrippa's forces, and joined Cestius. As to how Antipas, who was besieged with them in the king's palace, would not flee with them, and was afterwards slain by the insurgents, I shall relate hereafter. And Cestius sent Saul and his friends, at their own request, to Achaia[1] to Nero, to inform him of the great distress they were in, and to transfer the blame of the war upon Florus, for he hoped to make his own danger less by stirring up Nero's anger against Florus.

§ 2. Meantime the people of Damascus, when they heard of this slaughter of the Romans, set about butchering the Jews that dwelt among them. And as they had them already cooped up together in the gymnasium because of their suspicion of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt; but they were afraid of their own wives, who were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion, so their greatest concern was how to conceal this from them. And they fell upon the Jews, who were ten thousand in number, and all of them unarmed, and in a narrow place, and cut their throats in one hour with impunity.

§ 3. As to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they had returned to Jerusalem, they induced those that

[1] The Roman Province, including nearly the whole of *Greece* proper.

favoured the Romans, some by violence and some by persuasion, to join with them, and assembled in great numbers in the temple, and appointed several generals for the war. Joseph also, the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, were chosen as supreme governors of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city. For they did not put Eleazar the son of Simon at the head of affairs, although he had got in his possession the spoil taken from the Romans, and the money taken from Cestius, together with a great part of the public treasures, because they saw he aimed to be a king, and that his followers behaved like body-guards. However, the want they were in of money, and Eleazar's subtle tricks, soon got round the the people, so that they submitted themselves to his authority in all matters.

§ 4. They also chose others as generals for Idumæa,[1] as Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of the high priests, and Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest. They also enjoined Niger, the then governor of Idumæa (who was of a family that belonged to Peræa[2] beyond the Jordan, and so was called the Peræite), that he should be obedient to those fore-named commanders. Nor did they neglect other parts of the country, for Joseph the son of Simon was sent as general to Jericho, as was Manasses to Peræa, and John the Essene to the toparchy of Thamna;[3] Lydda[4] was also assigned to him, and Joppa and Emmaus.[5] And John, the son of Ananias, was made governor of the toparchies of Gophnitice[6] and Acrabatene,[7] as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala[8] also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under Josephus' command.

§ 5. As to every one of the other commanders, they administered affairs in their districts with their utmost zeal

[1] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6. [2] Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.
[3] *Tibneh.* Antiq. xiv. 11, § 2. Jewish War, iii. 3, § 5; iv. 8, § 1.
[4] *Ludd.* Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.
[5] Emmaus-Nicopolis *'Amwâs.* Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.
[6] The district of which Gophna, *Jifna*, was the chief town. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.
[7] Jewish War, ii. 12, § 4.
[8] *Kul'at el-Husn.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

and ability; and the first care of Josephus, when he came into Galilee, was to gain the good-will of the people of that country, as he knew he would thereby have good success in general, although he might fail in some points. And seeing that, if he communicated part of his power to influential persons, he should make them his firm friends, and that he should gain the favour of all the people if he executed his commands generally by persons of their own country with whom they were well acquainted, he chose out seventy of the wisest old men, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee, and appointed seven judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels; for as to greater affairs and capital cases, he enjoined they should be brought before him and the seventy elders.

§ 6. Now when Josephus had settled these rules for determining causes by the law in every city, he betook himself to make provision for their external safety: and as he knew the Romans would invade Galilee, he fortified suitable places, as Jotapata[1] and Bersabee[2] and Selamis,[3] and also Capharecco[4] and Japha[5] and Sigoph,[6] and the mount called Mount Tabor,[7] and Tarichеæ[8] and Tiberias.[9] Moreover, he fortified the caves near the lake of Gennesar[10] in what is called Lower Galilee, and in Upper Galilee the rock called the rock of the Achabari,[11] and Seph[12] and Jamnith[13] and Meroth;[14] and in Gaulanitis he fortified Seleucia[15] and Sogane[16] and Gamala.[17] But to those of Sepphoris[18] only did he give leave to build walls for themselves, and that because he perceived they were rich and wealthy, and zealous

[1] Kh. *Jefât.* Jewish War, iii. 6, § 1; 7, §§ 3-36.
[2] Life, § 37. Jewish War, iii. 3, § 1.
[3] Kh. *Sclâmeh.* Life, § 37.
[4] Life, § 37.
[5] *Yûfa*, near Nazareth. Life, §§ 37, 52. Jewish War, iii. 7, § 31.
[6] Life, § 37.
[7] Mount Tabor at the north-east end of the plain of Esdraelon.
[8] *Korak.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 9.
[9] Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.
[10] The sea of Galilee; the caves are those, near *Irbid*, in *Wâdy Hammam.*
[11] *'Akbara.* Life, § 37.
[12] Possibly *Sâfed.*
[13] Life, § 37.
[14] *Meirôn.* Life, § 37. Jewish War, iii. 3, § 1.
[15] On Lake Semechonitis, *Bahr el-Hûleh.* Life, § 37.
[16] *Sukhnin.* Life, §§ 10, 37, 51, 52.
[17] *Kul'at el-Husn.*
[18] *Sefûrieh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

for war without any orders. Similarly Gischala [1] had a wall built round it by John the son of Levi himself, but at the bidding of Josephus; who himself had a hand in all the other fortifications, and was present to give all the necessary orders. Josephus also got together an army out of Galilee of more than a hundred thousand young men, all of whom he drilled and armed with old weapons which he had got together.

§ 7. And when he reflected that the Roman power became invincible chiefly by discipline and constant exercise in arms,[2] he despaired of teaching his men the use of arms, which was only to be obtained by exercise, but observing that their readiness in obeying their officers was owing to the number of them, he arranged his army more in the Roman manner, and appointed a great many subalterns. He also distributed the soldiers into various classes, whom he put under captains of tens, and captains of hundreds, and then under captains of thousands; and besides these he had commanders of larger bodies of men. He also taught them to pass on signals to one another, and how to cheer on or recall the soldiers by the trumpets, and how to expand and wheel the wings, and when one wing had had success, to bring it up to assist those that were hard set, and to reinforce those that had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soul, and the endurance of the body; and above all he exercised them for war, by describing to them the discipline of the Romans, and how they were to fight against men who by the strength of their bodies and courage of their souls had conquered nearly the whole world. He told them that he could test the good order they would observe in war even before it came to battle, if they abstained from common crimes, such as theft and robbery and rapine, and from defrauding their own countrymen, and never esteemed harm done to those that were so near akin to them as any advantage to themselves. For he

[1] *El-Jish.* Life, § 10. Jewish War, ii. 21, § 1; iv. 2, § 1.

[2] Hence the Roman army was called exercitus, "Exercitus ab exercitando," Varro de Lingua Latina, l. iv. See also Cicero, Tusculan. l. ii. 37. The Prussians have done their great military feats by imitating this feature in the Romans. See also book iii. ch. v.

said wars were managed best when the warriors preserved a good conscience; for such as were bad men in private life, would not only have those for enemies who attacked them, but God himself also hostile to them.

§ 8. Thus did he frequently admonish them. Meantime his force was enlisted and got ready for war. It consisted of sixty thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, and besides these, in whom he put the greatest trust, there were about four thousand five hundred mercenaries. He had also six hundred picked men as his own body-guards. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of the army except the mercenaries, for every one of the cities enumerated above sent out half of their men to the army, and retained the other half at home to get provisions for them; so that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work, and so those that sent their corn were paid for it by the security which they enjoyed from those that were in arms.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning John of Gischala. Josephus uses Counter-stratagems against the Plots of John, and recovers certain Cities which had revolted from him.

§ 1.

WHILE Josephus was thus engaged in superintending the affairs of Galilee, there sprung up in Gischala, a deep designing fellow, whose name was John. He was the son of Levi, and a very cunning and very knavish person, indeed more so than any of the men of eminence there, and for wicked practices he had not his fellow anywhere. He was at first poor, and for a long time his neediness was a hindrance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar, and clever in gaining credit for his lies, and thought it virtue to delude people, and would delude even such as were dearest to him. He pretended to be humane, but where he had hope of gain was most bloody, ever aiming at great things, and feeding his hopes on his mean

wicked tricks. He was at first a solitary robber, but in process of time he got companions in his audacious schemes, at first but a few, but as he proceeded in his evil course, ever more and more. He took care to have no partner who would be easily detected, but chose out such men as had the strongest constitutions of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in martial affairs. Thus he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally from the country of Tyre, and were fugitives from its villages; and with them he plundered all Galilee, and harassed a great many who were on the tiptoe of expectation as to the coming war.

§ 2. However, his want of money had hitherto restrained him in his ambition for military command and attempts to advance himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with his energy, he persuaded him first to intrust him with the repairing the walls of his native city,[1] in which work he made a great gain of the rich citizens. He next contrived a very shrewd trick, for pretending that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, he asked leave of Josephus to send oil to the borders: and bought four amphoræ of oil with Tyrian money of the value of four Attic drachmæ, and sold every half amphora at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time, by sending away great quantities to those who wanted oil, and having the monopoly, he got together an immense sum of money, which he immediately used against him who had given him that means of gain. And, as he supposed if he could once overthrow Josephus that he would himself be master of Galilee, he gave orders to the robbers that were under his command to be more zealous in their plundering, that, if the revolutionary party grew numerous in the country, he might catch the general in his snares and kill him as he came to the country's assistance, or, if he should take no notice of the robbers, he might accuse him to the people of the country of negligence. He also spread abroad a report far and near, that Josephus intended delivering up

[1] Gischala. *El-Jish.*

Galilee to the Romans: and many such things did he invent in order to ruin him.

§ 3. Now at this very time certain young men of the village of Dabaritta,[1] who kept guard in the great plain, laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa and Berenice's steward, and stripped him of all that he had with him, among which there were a great many costly garments, and a number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold; but not being able to divide their spoil secretly, they brought it all to Josephus to Taricheæ.[2] Thereupon he blamed them for this outrage on the king and queen, and deposited what they brought to him with Annæus, the most influential person in Taricheæ, with the intention of sending the things back to the owners at a convenient opportunity: which intention brought upon Josephus the greatest danger. For those that had stolen the things were indignant at him, not only because they got no share of them for themselves, but also because they perceived what Josephus' intention was, namely to restore what had cost them so much pains to the king and queen; so they ran about by night among their villages, and declared to all their inhabitants that Josephus was a traitor. They also filled the neighbouring cities with tumult, so that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together against him. And the multitude crowded together in the hippodrome at Taricheæ, and raised a very angry clamour against him; for some cried out to stone the traitor, and others to burn him. Now John incited most of them, as did also with him one Jesus the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. And Josephus' friends and body-guards were so frightened at this violence on the part of the multitude, that they all fled but four; and as he was asleep, they awoke him, just as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four that remained with him urged him to flee away, he was neither dismayed at his being deserted, nor at the great multitude of those that came against him, but leaped out to them with his clothes rent,

[1] *Dabûrieh.* Life, §§ 26, 62.
[2] *Kerak.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 9.

and dust sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword hanging at his neck. At this sight his friends, especially those of Tarichеæ, commiserated his condition; but those that came out of the country, and those in the neighbourhood to whom his rule seemed burdensome, reproached him, and bade him produce quickly the money which belonged to them all, and to confess the agreement he had made to betray them. For they imagined, from the guise in which he appeared, that he would deny nothing of what they suspected concerning him, and that it was to obtain pardon that he had done everything to move their pity. But this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his, for he thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance with one another as to the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all: so he was permitted to speak, when he said, "I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to take it for my own gain; for I could never esteem one that was your enemy my friend, nor could I consider what would tend to your disadvantage to be to my advantage. But I saw, O people of Tarichеæ, that your city stood in more need than others of fortifications for your security, and that it wanted money for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the people of Tiberias and the other cities should lay a plot to seize upon these spoils, and therefore it was that I intended to retain this money privately, that I might invest you with a wall. But if this does not please you, I will produce what was brought me, and leave it to you to plunder it; but if I have well looked after your interests, you are desirous to injure your benefactor."

§ 4. At this the people of Tarichеæ loudly applauded him, but those of Tiberias and the rest abused him and threatened him; and both sides left Josephus alone, and fell to quarrelling with one another. So he grew bold upon the dependence he had on his friends (who were the people of Tarichеæ, and about forty thousand in number), and spoke more freely to the whole multitude. He reproached them greatly for their vehemence, and told them that with this money he would build walls about Tari-

cheæ, and would put the other cities in a state of security also; for they should not want money, if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and not suffer themselves to be incensed against him who had procured it for them."

§ 5. Then the rest of the multitude that had been deluded retired, though angry, but two thousand rushed at him in their armour, and as he had already got into his house, they stood without and threatened him. On this occasion Josephus again used a second stratagem. He got upon the top of his house, and with his right hand waved to them to be silent, and said he could not tell what they wanted, nor hear what they said for the confused noise, but he would comply with all their demands, if they would but send some of their number in to him, that might talk with him quietly. And when the most influential of them and the leaders heard this, they went inside the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of the hall where he put them, and then had them whipped till he laid bare their inward parts. Meantime the multitude stood round the house, supposing that he was holding a long discussion with those that had gone in. He then had the doors set open suddenly, and sent the men out all bloody, which so terribly frightened those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms and fled.

§ 6. At this John's envy grew more intense, and he framed a new plot against Josephus; he pretended to be ill, and in a letter begged that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths at Tiberias for the recovery of his health. And he (for hitherto he suspected not John as a plotter) wrote to the governors of the city to provide a lodging and necessaries for John. And when he had enjoyed these favours, he did after two days what he went there for, for he corrupted some with his lies, and others with money, and so tried to persuade them to revolt from Josephus. Now when Silas, who had been appointed to guard that city by Josephus, got to know of this, he wrote to him immediately, and informed him of the plot against him. And when Josephus had received his letter, he marched a forced march by night, and arrived early in the

morning at Tiberias. And the rest of the multitude met him, but John, though he suspected that arrival was not for his advantage, yet sent one of his friends, and pretended that he was ill, and that, being confined to his bed, he could not come to pay him his respects. And as soon as Josephus had collected the people of Tiberias together in the Stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters he had received, John secretly sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that these armed men were drawing their swords, they cried out; at which cry Josephus turned round, and when he saw that their swords were just at his throat, he hurried off to the sea-shore, and left off the speech he was making to the people on an elevation six cubits high. He then leaped into a ship which lay in the haven, and took refuge with two of his body-guards in the middle of the lake.

§ 7. And now his soldiers took up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters. Thereupon Josephus, being afraid that a civil war would be raised by the envy of a few men, and would bring the city to ruin, sent to his own party to tell them to do no more than provide for their own safety, and not to kill anybody, nor to accuse any of their guilt. And they obeyed his orders, and were quiet. But the people of the neighbouring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, assembled together against John. But he was too quick for them, and fled to Gischala [1] his native city. And the Galilæans came flocking out of their several cities to Josephus, and were now grown to many myriads of armed men, and cried out that they were come against John the universal plotter, and would at the same time burn him and the city which had received him. Then Josephus told them that he took their good-will kindly, but tried to restrain their fury, preferring to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct rather than by slaying them. So he excepted by name those of every city who had joined in this revolt with John, who were readily pointed out to him by their fellow-citizens, and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those who did not leave

[1] *El-Jish.*

John within five days, and would burn both their houses and families with fire. Thereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately, and came to Josephus, and threw down their arms at his feet. John then betook himself, together with the two thousand Syrian fugitives that stayed with him, from more open attempts to secret plots. So he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem to accuse Josephus of having too great power, and to let them know that he would soon come as a tyrant to their metropolis, unless he was prevented. To this the people, who were aware of the real state of affairs, paid no heed. But the leading men out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately, that he might be able to levy an army of mercenaries to fight against Josephus. They also made a decree among themselves to recall Josephus from his command, but they did not think that decree sufficient; so they sent two thousand five hundred armed men, and four notable persons, Joaesdrus the son of Nomicus, and Ananias the son of Sadduk, and Simon and Judas, the sons of Jonathan, all very able speakers, that they might divert the good-will of the people from Josephus. They were further instructed, if he would voluntarily come, to permit him to [come and] give an account of his conduct, but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing in his command, they were to treat him as an enemy. Now Josephus' friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him, but they did not reveal to him what the reason of its coming was, as his enemies had deliberated secretly. And so, as he was not on his guard, four cities revolted from him immediately, Sepphoris[1] and Gamala[2], and Gischala and Tiberias. But he soon recovered those cities without war, and when he had routed the four commanders and the pick of their soldiers by stratagem, he sent them to Jerusalem. But the people were very indignant at them, and in a mind to slay not only these forces, but also those that sent them, had they not prevented it by running away.

§ 8. Now John kept himself henceforth within the walls of Gischala from the fear he was in of Josephus. And a

[1] *Sefûrieh.* [2] *Kul'at el-Husn.*

few days afterwards Tiberias revolted again, the people within it inviting back king Agrippa. And when he did not come at the time appointed, and a few Roman horse appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now news of this revolt of theirs was at once carried to Tarichеæ,[1] and as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to get corn, he could not either march out alone against the revolters or stay where he was, because he was afraid the king's soldiers, if he tarried, would get the start of him and into the city: for he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the sabbath-day, and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revolters by a stratagem. He first ordered the gates of Tarichеæ to be shut, that nobody might go out and inform [those of Tiberias], for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about: he then got together all the ships that were upon the lake, which were found to be two hundred and thirty, and put on board each only four mariners. So he sailed to Tiberias with haste, and kept at such a distance from the city, that it was not easy for the people to see the vessels, and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and down in the offing, while he himself, and only seven of his body-guards unarmed with him, went so near as to be seen. And when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so dismayed, that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms, and made signals of supplication, and besought him to spare the city.

§ 9. Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly, and reproached them, as they first took up arms against the Romans, for expending their strength beforehand in civil strife, and doing what their enemies desired above all things, and also for being so anxious to seize upon him who saw to their safety, and for not being ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him that had built their walls. He said, however, that he would receive any that came to apologise for the matter, and with whom he could make arrangements for the city's security. There-

[1] *Kerak.*

upon ten of the most influential men of Tiberias went down to him at once, and when he had taken them on board one of his vessels, he ordered them to be carried a very great way off. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him, as he wished to receive from them also some security. After that he called forth others one after another, on one novel pretext or another, as if for a convention. He then gave orders to the pilots of those vessels which he had thus filled to sail away quickly to Tarichеæ, and to confine these men in the prison there. So at last he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the people, and carried them away in ships to Tarichеæ.

§ 10. And when those that remained of the people cried out that one Clitus was the chief author of this revolt, and besought him to confine his anger to him, Josephus, whose intention it was to slay nobody, commanded Levias, one of his guards, to go out of his vessel, and cut off both Clitus' hands; but he was afraid to go by himself alone to such a large body of enemies, and refused to go. Now Clitus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in his ship, and ready to leap out of it to execute the punishment himself; so he begged from the shore that Josephus would leave him one of his hands, which he agreed to upon condition that he would himself cut off the other hand; so he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left, so great was the fear he was in of Josephus himself, who thus took the people of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city again, with empty ships and seven body-guards. Moreover, a few days afterwards he took Gischala,[1] which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris,[2] and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it. However, he got all the plunder together again, and restored it to the inhabitants, and he did the same to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Tiberias. For when he had subdued them, he wished to give them a lesson, by letting them be plundered, while at the same time he regained their good-will by restoring them their money again.

[1] *El-Jish.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6. [2] *Sefûrieh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

CHAP. XXII.

The Jews make preparations for War. Simon the Son of Gioras falls to plundering.

§ 1.

THUS were the disturbances in Galilee composed. And upon their ceasing from civil strife, they betook themselves to making preparations against the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high priest Ananus, and as many influential persons as did not side with the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments. And in all parts of the city darts and all sorts of armour were being forged, but the mass of the young men were engaged in exercises without any regularity, and all places were full of tumult. And people of moderation were exceedingly dejected, and many foreseeing the calamities that were coming upon them made loud lamentation. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evil by such as loved peace, but were interpreted by those that kindled the war so as to suit their inclinations; and the condition of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus' concern was to lay aside for a while the preparations for the war, and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that were called zealots; but their violence was too much for him. As to the end he came to I shall relate that hereafter.

§ 2. As for the toparchy of Acrabatta,[1] Simon, the son of Gioras, got together a great number of those that were fond of innovation, and betook himself to ravaging the country; nor did he only ransack rich men's houses, but also tortured their bodies, and appeared openly thus early to aim at playing the tyrant. And when an army was sent against him by Ananus and the rulers, he and his band fled to the robbers that were at Masada,[2] and stayed

[1] Jewish War, ii. 12, § 4. [2] *Sebbeh*, Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.

with them, and plundered the country of Idumæa[1] with them, till both Ananus and his other enemies were slain, and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual plundering of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons in the villages to secure them from such outrages. In such a state were the affairs of Judæa at this time.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING TO SUBDUE THE JEWS, TO THE TAKING OF GAMALA.

CHAP. I.

Vespasian is sent into Syria by Nero, to war against the Jews.

§ 1.

WHEN Nero was informed of the Roman reverses in Judæa, a secret consternation and fear, as was natural enough, fell upon him; although he openly treated the matter disdainfully, and was very angry, and said that what had happened was owing rather to the negligence of the commanders than to any valour of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for himself, who bore the burden of empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended to do so, and to have a soul superior to all evils. However, the trouble of his soul plainly appeared from the anxiety he was in.

§ 2. And as he deliberated to whom he should commit the care of the East, now it was disturbed, who should punish the Jews for their rebellion, and prevent the infection from spreading to the neighbouring nations also, he

[1] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, as he was a man who had grown old in military service from his youth up. He had also long ago pacified the West, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been disturbed by the Germans, and had also won by his arms Britain, which had been little known before; whereby he got a triumph bestowed on his father[1] Claudius without any sweat of his own.

§ 3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him steadiness mixed with experience, and that he had sons as hostages for his fidelity, whose vigorous prime would make them fit instruments to carry out their father's plans. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterwards. So Nero sent him to take the command of the armies that were in Syria, and that not without great encomiums and flattery, such as necessity required to induce him to take the command. And Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia,[2] where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to fetch from thence the fifth and the tenth legions; while he himself crossed over the Hellespont,[3] and went by land into Syria, where he concentrated the Roman forces and the considerable number of auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings.

CHAP. II.

The great Slaughter of the Jews near Ascalon. Vespasian arrives at Ptolemais.

§ 1.

NOW after the Jews had beaten Cestius, they were so elated with their unexpected success, that they could not control their impetuosity, but, as if blown into a

[1] Father is used here only figuratively. Vespasian was no relation whatever to Claudius.

[2] Jewish War, ii. 20, § 1.

[3] The *Dardanelles*. Antiq. xi. 8, § 3; xii. 1, § 1.

flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly they at once got together all of their boldest soldiers, and marched for Ascalon,[1] an ancient city five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jerusalem, and ever hated by the Jews, so they determined to make their first efforts against it. This expedition was led by three men, who were eminent both for strength and ability, Niger the Peræite,[2] Silas the Babylonian, and besides them John the Essene. Now Ascalon was strongly fortified, but had almost no protection in the way of troops, for the garrison consisted of but one cohort of foot and one troop of horse, whose commander was Antonius.

§ 2. Now these Jews, in their anger, marched faster than usual, and, as if they had come but a little way, were soon near the city. But Antonius, who was not ignorant that they were going to make an attack upon the city, drew out his horse, and being neither daunted at the numbers nor courage of the enemy, received their first attack stoutly, and when they crowded to the walls repulsed them. Now the Jews were easily beaten, for they were men unskilful in war pitted against those that were skilful therein, they were foot pitted against horse, they were in disorder against men drawn up in order of battle solid and compact, they were poorly armed against men completely armed, they fought more from rage than judgment, and were pitted against soldiers that were obedient and did every thing they were bidden at the least intimation. So they were easily beaten, for as soon as their front ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry, and as they fell foul of those behind them struggling for the wall, they became one another's enemies, till they all gave way to the charges of the horse, and were dispersed all over the plain, which was wide and everywhere fit for cavalry; which circumstance was very convenient for the Romans, and occasioned most slaughter of the Jews. For they could outstrip such as ran away, and make them turn back, and when they were crowded together in their flight, they stabbed them, and slew a vast number of them; and in different quarters of the field,

[1] *'Ascalân.*

[2] That is, an inhabitant of Peræa. Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.

wherever the fugitives turned, they wheeled and galloped round them, and slew them easily with their arrows. And the great number there were of the Jews seemed to themselves a solitude because of the distress they were in, while the Romans had such good success with their small numbers, that they seemed to themselves to be the larger force. And as the Jews strove zealously under their misfortunes, from shame at their quick flight, and hope of a change in the fortunes of the day, so did the Romans feel no weariness in their good fortune, so that the fight lasted till evening, when ten thousand Jews lay dead, and two of their generals, John and Silas; and most of the rest were wounded, as well as Niger, their remaining general, who all fled away together to a small city of Idumæa, called Sallis.[1] Some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

§ 3. However, the spirits of the Jews were not broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their courage; for, disregarding the dead bodies which lay at their feet, they were enticed by their former successes to venture on a second destruction. So, when they had hardly given time for their wounds to heal, they concentrated all their forces, and returned to Ascalon with greater fury and in much greater numbers. But their former ill fortune followed them in addition to their unskilfulness and other deficiencies in war. For as Antonius laid ambushes for them on the roads they were to go by, they fell into snares unexpectedly, and were surrounded by the enemy's horse before they could form themselves in fighting order, and so above eight thousand of them were slain, and all the rest ran away, and with them Niger, who yet displayed great bravery in his flight. However, they were driven along before the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called Bezedel.[2] Then Antonius and his troops, that they might neither waste any time about this tower which was hard to take, nor suffer the commander and most noble man of the enemy to escape, set the wall on fire. And as the tower was on fire, the Romans went away rejoicing,

[1] Site not known. [2] An unidentified village near Ascalon.

taking it for granted that Niger had perished; but he leaped out of the tower into a cavern, in the innermost part of the fort, and was preserved, and on the third day afterwards he spoke from below to those that with great lamentations were searching for him, to give him a decent funeral; and when he came out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy, as though preserved by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

§ 4. And now Vespasian took his army with him from Antioch [1] (which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute is the third city [2] in the Roman empire, both from its size and prosperity in other respects), where he found king Agrippa with all his forces waiting for his coming, and pushed on to Ptolemais.[3] And at this city the inhabitants of Sepphoris in Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans, who had beforehand thought of their own safety and the power of the Romans, and had before Vespasian came given their faith to Cestius Gallius, and received the security of his right hand, and had admitted a Roman garrison; and now too they received the Roman general very kindly, and readily promised to assist him against their own countrymen. And the general handed over to them, at their desire, as many horse and foot as he thought sufficient to oppose the inroads of the Jews, if they should come against them. For indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris [4] would be no small one in the ensuing war, seeing it was the largest city in Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a military post to keep the whole nation in order.

[1] Antioch on the Orontes.

[2] Spanheim and Reland both agree that the two cities here esteemed greater than Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, were Rome and Alexandria; nor is there any reason to doubt this.—W.

[3] *'Akka.*

[4] *Sefûrieh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

CHAP. III.

A Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa.

§ 1.

NOW Phœnice and Syria surround the two Galilees, which are called Upper and Lower Galilee. They are bounded on the west by the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel,[1] which mountain of old belonged to the Galilæans, but now to the Tyrians; and next it is Gaba,[2] which is called "the city of horsemen," because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein: they are bounded on the south by Samaris[3] and Scythopolis,[4] as far as the streams of the Jordan; on the east by Hippene[5] and Gadaris,[6] and also by Gaulanitis,[7] and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and their northern parts are bounded by Tyre,[8] and the country of the Tyrians. As for what is called Lower Galilee, it extends in length from Tiberias to Chabulon,[9] and Ptolemais[10] is its neighbour on the coast, and its breadth is from the village called Xaloth,[11] which lies in the great plain, to Bersabe,[12] from which beginning the breadth of Upper Galilee is also taken to the village Baca,[13] which divides the land of the Tyrians from Galilee; its length is also from Meloth[14] to Thella,[15] a village near the Jordan.

§ 2. These two Galilees, being so great in size, and surrounded by so many foreign nations, have always been able to make a strong resistance in war. For the Galilæans are

[1] Mount Carmel on the south side of the Bay of Acre.
[2] *Jebâta.* Jewish War, ii. 18, § 1.
[3] The province of Samaria.
[4] The district of Scythopolis, Bethshean, *Beisân.*
[5] The district of Hippos, *Sûsiyeh.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.
[6] The district of Gadara, *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[7] *Jaulân.* Jewish War, i. 4. § 4. [8] *Sûr.*
[9] Chabolo, *Kâbûl.* Life, §§ 43, 44. Antiq. viii. 5, § 3. Against Apion, i. § 17.
[10] *'Akka.*
[11] Chesulloth, Chisloth-Tabor, *Iksâl.* Life, § 44.
[12] Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6. [13] Site unknown.
[14] *Meirôn.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.
[15] Probably *Tell Thala.*

inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous, nor has their country ever been destitute of men of courage or of a large population, for the soil is universally rich and fruitful, and planted with trees of all sorts, so that by its fruitfulness it invites even the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation. Accordingly, it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie very thick, and the very many villages are everywhere so populous from the richness of the soil, that the very least of them contains more than fifteen thousand inhabitants.

§ 3. In short, if any one admits that Galilee is inferior to Peræa in size, he will be obliged to prefer it to it in its capacities; for all of it is capable of cultivation, and it is every where fruitful; whereas Peræa,[1] which is indeed much larger in extent, is mostly desert and rough, and much less adapted for the growth of cultivated fruits. However, its softer soil is very fertile, and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with various trees, though the olive the vine and palms are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail them, as they do in the dog-days. Now the length of Peræa is from Machærus[2] to Pella,[3] and its breadth from Philadelphia[4] to the Jordan: its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as I have already said, and its western by the Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits extend to Arabia and Silbonitis,[5] and also to Philadelphene[6] and Gerasa.[7]

§ 4. As to the district of Samaria, it lies between Judæa and Galilee (for it begins in a village that is in the great plain called Ginæa,[8] and ends at the toparchy of Acrabatta),[9] and is entirely of the same nature as Judæa. For

[1] Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.
[2] *Mekaur.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.
[3] *Fahil.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.
[4] *'Ammân.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 4.
[5] *Schonitis,* Heshbon. *Hesbân.* Jewish War, ii. 18, § 1.
[6] The district of Philadelphia. [7] *Jerash.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.
[8] *Jenîn.* Jewish War, ii. 12, § 3.
[9] *'Akrâbeh.* Jewish War, ii. 12, § 4.

both are full of hills and valleys, and are soft enough for agriculture and very fruitful, and are well wooded, and abound both in wild fruit, and in that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain. As for the streams which they have, all their water is exceedingly sweet: and because of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than elsewhere. And the greatest sign of their excellence and abundance is that both of them are very populous.

§ 5. On the borders of Samaria and Judæa lies the village of Anuath,[1] which is also called Borceos.[2] This is the northern boundary of Judæa. The southern parts of Judæa, if it be measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adjoining the confines of Arabia, which the Jews that dwell there call Iardas.[3] And its breadth extends from the river Jordan to Joppa.[4] The city of Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on which account some have called that city not amiss the navel of the country. Nor indeed is Judæa destitute of such delights as come from the sea, for it extends on the coast as far as Ptolemais. And it is divided into eleven portions, over which, as the royal city, Jerusalem is supreme, and presides over all the neighbouring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities after it, they are parcelled out among the several toparchies. Gophna[5] is the second, and next to it is Acrabatta,[6] and after them Thamna,[7] and Lydda,[8] and Emmaus,[9] and Pella, and Idumæa,[10] and Engaddi,[11] and Herodium,[12] and Jericho,[13] and after them Jamnia[14] and Joppa preside over their neighbours; and besides these there

[1] *Kh. 'Aina*, fifteen Roman miles south of Shechem, *Nâblus*.
[2] *Berkit*, not far from *Kh. 'Aina*.
[3] Site unknown.
[4] *Jaffa*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.
[5] *Jifna*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.
[6] See p. 235, note 19.
[7] *Tibneh*. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 4.
[8] *Ludd*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.
[9] Emmaus-Nicopolis, *'Amwâs*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.
[10] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.
[11] *'Ain Jidy*, on western shore of the Dead Sea. Antiq. vi. 13, §§ 1, 4; ix. 1, § 2. Jewish War, iv. 7, § 2.
[12] *Jebel Fureidis*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.
[13] *er-Rîha*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.
[14] *Yebnah*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

are Gamalitis,[1] and Gaulanitis, and Batanæa[2] and Trachonitis,[3] which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This [last] country begins at mount Libanus,[4] and the fountains of the Jordan,[5] and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias;[6] and in length extends as far as Julias[7] from a village called Arpha.[8] Its inhabitants are Jews and Syrians mixed. Thus have I described with all possible brevity Judæa and its adjacent countries.

CHAP. IV.

Josephus makes an attempt upon Sepphoris, but is repelled. Titus comes with a great Army to Ptolemais.

§ 1.

NOW the reinforcements sent by Vespasian to assist the people of Sepphoris consisted a thousand horse and six thousand foot under Placidus the tribune, and encamped in the great plain, and were divided into two bodies; for the foot were put into the city to garrison it, but the horse were quartered in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and scouring the country all round, were very troublesome to Josephus and his men, although they were quiet. They also plundered all the places outside the city, and interfered with such as ventured abroad. So Josephus marched against Sepphoris, hoping to take it, though he had strongly fortified it before it revolted from the Galilæans, that the Romans might have much trouble to take it. In consequence of this he failed in his hope, and proved unable either to take the place by storm or to prevail upon the people of Sepphoris to deliver it up to him. And he stirred up war

[1] *Kul'at el-Husn.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.
[2] Jewish War, i. 20, § 4. [3] *el-Lejah.* Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.
[4] Mount Lebanon.
[5] The springs at *Bâniâs* and *Tell el-Kâdy.*
[6] The Sea of Galilee.
[7] Bethsaida-Julias, *et-Tell.* Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.
[8] An unknown town in the neighbourhood of *Jebel-Haurân.*

only the more throughout the district: for the Romans in their anger at this attempt, left off neither by night nor day ravaging in the plain, and carrying off the cattle that were in the country, and ever killing all that seemed capable of fighting, and enslaving the weak. So all Galilee was filled with fire and blood; nor was it exempt from any kind of misery or calamity, for the only refuge they had was that, when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had been fortified by Josephus.

§ 2. As to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia[1] to Alexandria, and that quicker than the winter season usually permitted, and brought with him the forces he was sent for, and marching with great expedition, arrived quickly at Ptolemais. And there he found his father, together with the two legions which were the finest of all, namely, the fifth and the tenth, and joined to them the fifteenth legion which he had brought. And eighteen cohorts followed these legions. There came also from Cæsarea[2] five cohorts and one troop of horse, and five other troops of horse from Syria. Ten of these cohorts had a thousand foot apiece, but the remaining thirteen cohorts had only six hundred foot apiece, and a hundred and twenty horse. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings Antiochus and Agrippa and Sohemus, each of them contributing two thousand foot that were archers, and a thousand horse. Malchus, also, the Arabian, sent a thousand horse, besides five thousand foot (most of whom were archers). So the whole army, as well horse as foot, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, amounted collectively to sixty thousand, besides the servants, who followed in vast numbers, and, because they had been trained for war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men, for as they were in their masters' service in times of peace, so did they undergo danger with them in times of war, insomuch that they were inferior to none except their masters either in skill or in strength.

[1] The Roman Province. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 2.
[2] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisarîyeh*.

CHAP. V.

A Description of the Roman Armies, and Camps, and Discipline.

§ 1.

NOW here one cannot but admire the forethought of the Romans, in providing themselves with such household servants as might not only serve in the common duties of life, but might also be useful in their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but look at all their military organisation, he will recognize that their great empire is the fruit of their valour, and not the gift of fortune. For they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do they only exercise their hands in emergencies, while they avoid doing so in times of peace, but as if they were glued to their weapons, they have never any truce from warlike exercises, nor do they wait for times of war. For their drill differs not at all from real war, but every soldier is every day exercised, and that with real diligence, as if in war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily. For neither does any disorder remove them from their wonted organisation, nor does fear frighten them out of it, nor does labour tire them. And this makes them always conquer those that have not the same steadiness, nor would he be far out who called their drill unbloody battles, and their battles bloody drill. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them by a sudden attack, for as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have fortified their camp. Nor do they raise their vallum at random or unevenly, nor do they all raise it, nor do those that do take their places at random, but if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first levelled, and their camp is also measured square. And carpenters follow the army in great numbers with their tools to erect any necessary wood-work.

§ 2. As for the inside of the camp, they occupy it with tents, but the outside resembles a wall, and is furnished with towers at equal distances. And between the towers they place the engines for throwing arrows and darts and

stones, and all other engines for throwing missiles, all ready for use. They also erect four gates, one at each end of the camp, large enough for the entrance of the beasts of burden, and wide enough to make a sally from, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets with much arrangement. And they place the tents of the commanders in the middle, and in the very midst of all is the general's own tent like a temple; so that the camp appears to be an improvised city with its market-place and place for handicraft trades, and with seats for the superior and inferior officers, where, if any differences arise, the cases are heard and decided. The camp, and all that is in it, is quickly fortified by the multitude and skill of the workers; and, if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth the same.

§ 3. When they have thus fortified themselves, they bivouac in companies in quietness and order. And all their other affairs are managed with good order and security. Each company has also its wood and corn and water brought it, when needful. For they neither sup nor dine when each pleases, but all together. Their times also for sleeping and watching and rising are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without orders. And in the morning all the soldiers go to their centurions, and these centurions to their tribunes, to salute them, with whom all the superior officers go to the general of the whole army. And then he according to custom gives them the word for the day and other orders, to be by them carried to all that are under their command; which is also observed when they go to fight, and so they wheel round quickly, so that, if need be, they can either attack or retreat *en masse*.

§ 4. Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives the signal, when nobody lies still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out, and the trumpets sound again, to bid them get ready for the march. Then they lay their baggage quickly upon their mules and other beasts of burden, and stand, as at the starting place, ready to march; and also set fire to their camp, and they do this be-

cause it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that this one may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give signal to them the third time that they are to go out, to hasten up those that are on any account a little slow, that so no one may be out of his ranks when the army marches. And a marshal stands at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice in their own tongue, if they are ready for war. To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them, and as if filled with a kind of martial fury, and when they cry this out, they also lift up their right hands.

§ 5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise and in order, and every one keeps his own ranks as in war. The foot are armed with breast-plates and helmets, and wear a sword on each side, but the sword which is upon their left side is much longer than the other, for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those foot also that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself, have a lance and shield, but the rest of the foot-soldiers have a spear and large oblong shield (shaped like a door), and a saw and basket, a pickaxe, and an axe, a thong of leather, and a hook, and provisions for three days, so that a foot-soldier has no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The cavalry have a long sword on their right side and a long pole in their hand, and an oblong shield lies across their horse's side, and three or more darts are carried in their quiver, with broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also helmets and breast-plates like all the foot-soldiers. As for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armour in no way differs from that of the cavalry belonging to other troops, and he always leads the legions to whom that duty is assigned by lot.

§ 6. This is the manner of marching and resting of the Romans, and these are the different weapons they use. And when they are to fight, they leave nothing without forecast nor to be done on the spur of the moment, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what has been resolved upon is put into execution; so they seldom commit any errors, and if they make mistakes at

any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit after taking counsel beforehand, to be better than the successes which are owing to fortune only; because such a chance advantage tempts men to be careless, while consideration, though it may sometimes fail of success, has this good in it, that it makes men more careful afterwards; while the advantages that arise from chance are not owing to him that gains them; and as to the reverses that happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had anyhow deliberated the best they could to prevent them.

§ 7. Now in the exercise of their arms they make not only the bodies of the soldiers but also their souls stout. They are, moreover, hardened for war by fear. For their laws inflict capital punishment not only for desertion, but also for slight remissness, and their generals are more severe than their laws; for they screen their seeming cruelty towards those they punish by the great rewards they bestow on valiant soldiers. And their obedience to their commanders is so great, that it brings about order in peace, and in a battle the whole army is one body. So welded together are their ranks, so quick their wheelings round, so sharp their hearing the orders given them, so quick their sight of the signals given them, and so nimble their hands in action. So what they do is done quickly, and what they suffer they bear with the greatest patience. Nor can we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when they came to a close fight, either by the multitude of the enemies, or by their stratagems, or by the difficulties of the ground, no, nor by fortune either, for their victories have been surer to them than fortune. With a people, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where what is resolved upon is followed out by so energetic an army, what wonder is it that Euphrates on the east, the Ocean on the west, the most fertile regions of Libya[1] on the south, and the Ister[2] and Rhine on the north, are the limits of the Roman empire? One might well say that the Roman possessions are inferior to their possessors.

[1] Jewish War, ii. 7, § 4.

[2] The Danube.

§ 8. I have given the reader this account not so much with the intention of commending the Romans, as of consoling those that have been conquered by them, and deterring others from attempting to rise against them. This account of the Roman military system may also perhaps be of use to such as are ignorant of it, and yet curious to know it. I will return now from my digression.

CHAP. VI.

Placidus attempts to take Jotapata, but is repulsed. Vespasian marches into Galilee.

§ 1.

NOW Vespasian with his son Titus tarried some time at Ptolemais,[1] and put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had scoured all Galilee, and had also slain a great number of those whom he had taken (who were only the weaker part of the Galilæans, and such as were of timorous souls), saw that the fighting men always took refuge in the cities that had been fortified by Josephus, he marched against Jotapata,[2] which was the strongest of them all, supposing he should easily take it by a *coup de main*, and win great fame for himself among the commanders, and gain a great advantage for the Romans for the future campaign; for if the strongest place of all were once taken, the rest would surrender from fear. But he was mightily mistaken in his hope. For the men of Jotapata heard of his coming to attack them, and went out of the city to meet him, and engaged with the Romans unexpectedly, being both many in number, and prepared and eager for fighting, because they esteemed their country and wives and children in danger, and soon put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them, but slew only seven of them, because their retreat was made in an orderly manner, and their wounds were only flesh wounds, as their bodies were covered with their armour in all parts, and because

[1] *'Akka.* [2] *Jefat.* Jewish War, iii. 20, § 6.

the Jews rather threw their missiles at them from a distance, than ventured to come to close quarters, and had only light armour on, while the others were completely armed. And three men were slain on the Jews' side, and a few wounded. And Placidus, finding himself too weak to assault the city, retreated.

§ 2. Then Vespasian set out to invade Galilee, and marched from Ptolemais, having put his army in the order wherein the Romans march. He ordered those auxiliaries who were lightly armed and the archers to march first, that they might check any sudden assaults of the enemy, and might search the woods that looked suspicious and fit for ambuscades. Next to them followed those of the Romans who were completely armed, both foot and horse. Next to them followed ten out of every hundred, carrying with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp, and after them road-makers, to make crooked roads straight, and to level uneven ground, and to cut down woods that hindered their march, that the army might not be impeded or tired with their march. Behind these he put such baggage of the army as belonged to himself and the other commanders, with a strong troop of horse for their security. After these he marched himself, having with him some picked foot and horse and pikemen; and he was followed by the cavalry belonging to his legion, for a hundred and twenty horse belonged to each legion. Next to these came the mules that carried the battering-rams and the other military engines. After them came the other commanders and prefects of the cohorts and tribunes, having with them picked soldiers. Then came the ensigns encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion, being the king and strongest of all birds, which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march. These sacred ensigns were followed by the trumpeters, and behind them came the main army in column six deep, who were followed by a centurion, who, according to custom, saw that the ranks were well kept. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the foot, and brought up the baggage of the soldiers, which was carried by the mules and other beasts of burden. And behind all the legions came

the crowd of mercenaries, and next to them came those that brought up the rear for the security of the whole army, who were foot-soldiers, both light-armed and heavy-armed, and a strong force of cavalry.

§ 3. Thus did Vespasian march with his army, and arrived at the borders of Galilee, where he pitched his camp and restrained his soldiers who were eager for war, and also showed his army to the enemy to frighten them, and to afford them opportunity to change their minds before it came to a battle. At the same time he made preparations for besieging their strongholds. And indeed the sight of the general induced many to repent of their revolt, and threw all into consternation. Those indeed that were in Josephus' camp, which was at the city called Garis,[1] not far from Sepphoris,[2] when they heard that the war was come near them, and that the Romans were all but fighting with them hand to hand, dispersed and fled, not only before a battle, but before ever the enemy came in sight. So Josephus was left with but a few others, and as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to cope with the enemy, and that the spirits of the Jews were depressed, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they could get trusted, he already began to be afraid as to the issue of the whole war, and determined to get as far as he could out of danger; so he took those that continued loyal to him, and fled to Tiberias.

CHAP. VII.

Vespasian, after taking the City of Gadara, marches to Jotapata. After a long Siege, that City is betrayed by a Deserter, and taken by Vespasian.

§ 1.

AND Vespasian marched to the city of Gadara,[3] and took it at the first assault, because he found it destitute of a fighting population, and entered into it and slew all the

[1] Site unknown. Life, § 71. [2] *Sefûrieh.*
[3] *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

population from the youths upwards, the Romans having no mercy on any age whatever, because of the hatred they bore to the Jewish nation, and because of their remembrance of the lawlessness of the Jews in the affair of Cestius. He also set fire not only to the city itself, but to all the villages and small cities that were round it; some of them were quite destitute of inhabitants, but from others he carried the inhabitants into captivity as slaves.

§ 2. As to Josephus, his retiring to the city of Tiberias,[1] which he chose for his security, filled it with great alarm. For its people did not imagine that he would have fled at all, unless he had entirely despaired of the issue of the war. And indeed as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion; for he saw how the affairs of the Jews would end at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by changing their conduct. As for himself, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet he preferred to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to disgrace that command of the army which had been intrusted to him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to write an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem, that he might not by exaggerating the power of the enemy make them too timorous, nor by understating that power encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance, and that, if they thought of coming to terms, they might quickly write him an answer, or if they resolved upon war, send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. So he wrote these things, and sent messengers to carry his letter with all despatch to Jerusalem.

§ 3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of rasing Jotapata[2] to the ground, for he had heard that most of the enemy had retired there, and that it was also a strong *point d'appui* for them. So he sent both foot and horse to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, and not without difficulty to be travelled over by foot, and absolutely impracticable for horse. And they accomplished this in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army.

[1] *Tubariya.* Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1. [2] *Jeṭat.*

Now on the fifth day (which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius) Josephus anticipated him, and got into Jotapata from Tiberias, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian that Josephus had removed there, so he hasted to that city, supposing that with taking it he should take all Judæa, if he could but get Josephus in his power. So he took this news to be of the vastest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most intelligent of all their enemies should go into a self-chosen prison. So he sent Placidus with a thousand horse, and the decurion Ebutius, a person of eminence both in council and in action, to invest the city, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

§ 4. Vespasian himself followed them the very next day with his whole army, and by marching till late in the evening arrived at Jotapata. And taking his army to the north side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain hill which was seven furlongs from the city, being most desirous to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into consternation; indeed such a panic seized the Jews immediately, that not one of them durst go outside the walls. But the Romans put off an immediate attack at that time, because they had marched all the day, but they placed a double line round the city, with a third line of cavalry behind, in order to stop up every way out. Now this, making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly; for nothing makes men fight so desperately in war as necessity.

§ 5. Now when an assault was made next day by the Romans, the Jews at first maintained their ground and opposed the enemy face to face, having encamped before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and all those that threw missiles from a distance, he bade them shoot, while he himself with the foot mounted an acclivity, where the wall was easily to be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and made a sally, and all the Jewish multitude with him. And they fell upon the Romans *en masse*, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and

bold actions. But they suffered as much as they made the enemy suffer. For as despair of safety encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans; and these last had skill as well as strength, while the others were only armed by courage, which made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of night. A very great many of the Romans were wounded, and thirteen of them killed, while seventeen of the Jews were slain, and six hundred wounded.

§ 6. On the next day the Jews sallied out and made another attack upon the Romans, and fought much more desperately than the day before, for they were now become more confident on account of their unexpectedly holding their own the day before, and they found that the Romans also fought more desperately; for a sense of shame inflamed them into passion, as they thought not winning victory at once a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans attack the Jews continually till the fifth day, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought from the walls most desperately; neither were the Jews dismayed at the strength of the enemy, nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in regard to taking the city.

§ 7. Now Jotapata is almost all of it a precipice, having on all sides of it but one ravines immensely deep, so that those who try to look down find their sight fail them before it reaches the bottom. It is only to be got at on the north side, where the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. Josephus had surrounded this mountain with a wall when he fortified the city, that its summit might not be able to be seized upon by the enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and is invisible till one comes just upon it. Such was the strong situation of Jotapata.

§ 8. Vespasian, therefore, being put on his mettle by the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, resolved to prosecute the siege with vigour. To this end he called the commanders that were under him to a council of war, and consulted with them as to the assault. And when it was resolved to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was accessible, he sent

his whole army abroad to collect materials. So when they had cut down all the trees[1] near the city, and had got together a great heap of stones besides the wood they had cut down, some of them spread fascines over their works, to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above at them, under cover whereof they kept on forming their bank, and so were hurt little or nothing by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall, while others pulled the neighbouring hillocks to pieces, and perpetually brought them earth, so nobody was idle, as they were busy three sorts of ways. But the Jews cast great stones from the walls and all sorts of darts upon the fascines which protected the men, and their noise, though they did not reach them, was so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

§ 9. Vespasian then put into position all round the city the engines for throwing stones and darts (the number of which was in all an hundred and sixty), and bade the engineers shoot at those that were upon the wall. Then simultaneously the catapults hurled lances with a great noise, and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines for hurling stones, and fire and a vast multitude of arrows, which not only made the walls difficult of access to the Jews, but also reached the parts within the walls. For the mass of the Arabian archers, as well as all those that threw darts and slung stones, hurled their shot at the same time as the engines. However, the others did not lie still when they could not fight the Romans from the higher ground. For they then made sallies, like robbers, in bands, and tore away the fascines that covered the workmen, and struck them when they were thus unprotected; and when those workmen gave way, they shovelled away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the woodwork of it and the fascines, till Vespasian perceived that the intervals between the works caused this damage, for these intervals gave the Jews opportunity to attack the Romans. So he united the fascines, and at the same time concentrated all his army close to them, which prevented these sallies of the Jews.

[1] Surely for ὀρῶν we must read δρυῶν. And so I have done.

§ 10. And when the bank was now raised, and brought very close to the battlements, Josephus thought it would be strange if he could make no counter-contrivance for the city's preservation, so he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher. And when they said that it was impossible to build while they were being pelted with so many darts, he invented the following shelter for them. He bade them fix stakes, and stretch over them the raw hides of oxen just killed, that these hides, by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them, might receive them, and the other darts would slide off them, and fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set over the workmen, and under them they went on with their work in safety, and raised the wall higher both by day and night, till it was twenty cubits higher. He also built frequent towers upon the wall, and fitted to it strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who thought by now they would have already got inside the city, and they were at once dismayed at Josephus' contrivance and at the courage of the citizens.

§ 11. And Vespasian was irritated at the great subtlety of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the men of Jotapata. For taking heart again upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sallies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them in bands, together with all such contrivances as robbers make use of, as plundering all that came to hand, as also setting fire to all the Roman works; till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them, and resolved to sit down before the city, and to starve it into a surrender, supposing that they would either be forced to petition him for mercy by want of provisions, or, if they should have the courage to hold out till the last extremity, that they would perish by famine: and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he left them alone for a time, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine. But he gave orders that they should guard all the outlets from the city.

§ 12. Now the besieged had plenty of corn and indeed of all other things within the city, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, the people there

being supplied with rain water. But it is a rare thing in that country if ever to have rain in summer. And as the siege was at this season, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst, and they chafed as if already entirely in want of water. For Josephus, seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and wishing to protract the siege longer than the Romans expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure. But they deemed this scanty distribution of water by measure a thing harder than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would stimulated still more their desire for drinking, and they were as much disheartened thereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans ignorant of the condition they were in; for where they stood opposite them above the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins there, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

§ 13. And Vespasian hoped that their cisterns of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him. But Josephus, being minded to frustrate his hope, commanded a great many to wet their clothes, and hang them out upon the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this the Romans were discouraged and in consternation, seeing them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink. And the Roman general despaired of taking their city by famine, and even betook himself again to arms and force, which was what the Jews greatly desired. For as they despaired of safety for either themselves or their city, they preferred death in battle to death by hunger and thirst.

§ 14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem, besides the foregoing one, to get plenty of what they wanted. Through a certain ravine that was almost inaccessible, and so was neglected by the soldiers, Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of it, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that

were outside the city, and procured from them in abundance whatever necessaries they wanted in the city. He ordered them also to creep along generally when near the watch as they returned to the city, and to cover their backs with fleeces, that if any one should observe them by night, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived their contrivance, and surrounded the ravine.

§ 15. And now Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own safety would be doubtful if he continued in it, so he deliberated about flight with the most influential men of the city. When the multitude were aware of this, they all came round about him, and begged of him not to leave them, as they entirely depended on him and him alone; for there was still hope of the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them, because everybody would zealously fight for him, and there would be some comfort for them, even if they should be captured. They added that it became him neither to flee from his enemies, nor to desert his friends, nor to leap out of the city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came in a calm; for by going away he would wreck the city, for nobody would any longer venture to oppose the enemy, when he was once gone on whom they wholly relied.

§ 16. Then Josephus concealed from them that he was going away to provide for his own safety, and told them that he was going out of the city for their sakes; for if he stayed with them, he should be able to do them little good, while they were in a safe condition, and if they were once taken, he should only perish with them to no purpose; whereas if he once got out of the siege, he should be able to help them very much from outside; for he would then with all speed get the Galilæans together out of the district, and divert the Romans from their city by another war. He said also that he did not see what advantage he could do them now by staying among them, for that would only provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, since they deemed it a very great point to take him; but if they heard that he had escaped, they would greatly relax in their eagerness against the city. But he did not persuade the people, but incited them the more to hang on him.

Indeed children and old men and women with their infants came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them caught hold of his feet and held him fast, and besought him with much wailing to share their fortunes, and I think they did this, not envying his deliverance, but hoping for their own; for they did not think they should suffer any great misfortune, if Josephus did but stay with them.

§ 17. Now Josephus thought, if he resolved to stay, that it would be ascribed to their entreaties, and if he resolved to go away by force, he would be put into custody. His pity also for the people in their lamentation had much broken his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and arming himself with the common despair of the citizens, he said to them, "Now is the time to begin to fight, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is noble to prefer glory to life, and having done some noble deed to be remembered by late posterity." When he had said this, he turned to deeds, and with his bravest men made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' outposts, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents upon their bank to pieces, and set fire to their works. And he never left off fighting in the same manner either the next day or the day after that, or for a considerable number of both days and nights.

§ 18. Upon this Vespasian, as he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies, (for they were ashamed to be put to flight by the Jews, and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armour would not let them pursue them far, and the Jews, when they had done any mischief, before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city,) ordered his armed men to avoid their attacks, and not fight it out with men in desperation, for nothing was more courageous than despair, and their violence would be quenched when they saw they failed of their purposes, as fire was quenched when it wanted fuel. He said also that it became the Romans to gain their victories as cheaply as they could, since they did not fight for their existence, but only to enlarge their dominions. So he repelled the Jews most by the Arabian archers, and Syrian slingers and stone-throwers. Nor was there

any intermission of the numerous engines that hurled missiles. Now the Jews suffered greatly by these engines and gave way before them, but when they threw stones or javelins a great distance, then the Jews came to close quarters and pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought desperately, without sparing either soul or body, one detachment relieving another by turns when it was tired out.

§ 19. Now Vespasian, looking upon himself as besieged in turn by these sallies of these Jews and the long time the siege lasted, as his banks were now not far from the walls, determined to apply his battering-ram. This is a vast beam of wood like the mast of a ship, its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to be like the head of a ram, whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by its middle by ropes, and is hung, like the balance in a pair of scales, from another beam, and braced by strong beams on both sides of it. When this is pulled backward by a great number of men, and then with united force thrust forward by the same men, it batters walls with the iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so strong, or walls so broad, if they resist its first battery, but are forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general betook himself to, as he was eagerly bent upon taking the city, for he found lying in the field so long to be to his disadvantage, as the Jews would never be quiet. So the Romans brought their catapults and other engines for galling an enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the walls who endeavoured to frustrate their attempts, and threw stones and javelins at them, and the archers and slingers in like manner came closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass that none of the Jews durst man the walls, and then other Romans brought forward the battering-ram that was cased with wicker-work all over, and in the upper part was covered by skins, and this both for the security of themselves and it. Now the wall was shaken at the very first stroke of this battering-ram, and a terrible clamour was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

§ 20. Now when Josephus observed this ram frequently

battering the same place, and saw that the wall would quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to elude for a while the force of that contrivance. So he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff, and to let them down before the place where they saw the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside, or that the place might feel less of the stroke in consequence of the yielding nature of the chaff. This very much delayed the Romans, because, let them remove their battering-ram to what part they pleased, those that were on the walls also removed their sacks, and placed them opposite the strokes it made, insomuch that the wall was not at all injured in consequence of the resistance that the sacks made, till the Romans made a counter-contrivance of long poles, and by tying scythes at their ends cut off the sacks. Now when the battering-ram thus became effective again, and the wall (having been but newly built) was giving way, Josephus and those about him had thenceforward recourse to fire to defend themselves. So they took whatever materials they had that were dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines and wicker-work and banks of the Romans. And they could not well come to their assistance, being at once in consternation at the Jews' boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to their aid. For the materials being dry, and bitumen and pitch and brimstone also being among them, the fire spread quicker than one would think, and what cost the Romans a great deal of labour was in one hour consumed.

§ 21. And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of our relation and commendation. He was the son of Samæas, and was called Eleazar, and was born at Saab[1] in Galilee. He took up a stone of vast size, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram, and that with such force that it broke off the head of it. He also leaped down and took the head of the ram from the midst of the enemies, and without the slightest fear carried it to the top of the wall. And all the while he stood as a mark for all the enemies, and received their strokes upon his naked body, and was pierced with five darts: nor did he mind any of them

[1] Possibly *Kefr Sabt.*

till he got up to the top of the wall, where he stood in the sight of all conspicuous for his boldness, after which he writhed with pain from his wounds, and fell down dead with the ram. Next to him two brothers Netiras and Philip showed their courage most conspicuously, both of them from the village Ruma,[1] and both Galilæans also. They leaped upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whom they rushed.

§ 22. After them Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines and their coverings and the works belonging to the fifth and tenth legions, whom they put to flight, and others followed them immediately, and buried their instruments and all their materials under ground. However, about evening the Romans raised and applied the battering-ram again where the wall had suffered before; and there a certain Jew that defended the city from the Romans, hit Vespasian with a dart in the flat of his foot, and wounded him only a little, the distance being so great that it broke the force of the missile. However, this caused the greatest confusion among the Romans, for as those who stood near were alarmed at the sight of his blood, a report spread through the whole army that the general was wounded, and most left the siege and came running in dismay and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, in the concern he had for his father, so that the soldiers were in great anxiety both from the regard they had for their general and because of the agony that the son was in. But Vespasian soon put an end to his son's fear, and to the alarm of the army. For rising superior to pain, and taking care to show himself to all that had been anxious about him, he incited them to fight the Jews with more sternness: for now every body was willing to expose himself to danger to avenge the general, and encouraging one another with a shout they rushed to the wall.

§ 23. But those who were with Josephus, though they fell one after another being struck by the darts and stones

[1] *Kh. Rûmeh*, on the south side of the plain *el-Buttauf*.

which the engines threw at them, could not for all that be driven from the wall, but attacked with fire and iron weapons and stones those who were propelling the ram under the protection of the wicker-work: though they could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, because they were seen by those whom they could not see. For the light of their own fire shone about them, and made them as visible a mark to the enemy as they were in the day-time, while the enemy's engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them could not well be avoided. For the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them wound many at a time, and the whizzing stones that were cast by the engines carried away the battlements, and broke off the corners of the towers. Indeed, no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the size of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night: for as one of those that stood round Josephus was on the wall, his head was knocked off by a stone, and his skull carried as far as three furlongs. In the day-time also a woman with child had her belly so violently struck, as she had just come out of her house, that the unborn babe was carried to the distance of half a furlong, so great was the force of that engine. The whirr of the instruments and the noise of the missiles was more terrible still. Dire too was the noise the dead bodies made when they were knocked down one after another on the walls, and dreadful was the clamour which the women raised within the city, which was echoed back by the cries of those outside who were being slain; and the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood, and the wall might have been climbed up to over dead bodies. The mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes, nor was there on that night any thing wanting that could terrify either the ear or eye. And very many of those that fought nobly at Jotapata fell, and very many were wounded, and the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission; and those within covered their bodies with their armour, and built up again what was thrown down of the wall, before those scaling

machines were laid to the wall by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

§ 24. In the morning Vespasian mustered together his army to take the city, after a little rest from the fatigues of the night. And as he wished to draw off those that checked him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of his cavalry dismount from their horses, and placed them in three files opposite these breaches in the wall, defended by their armour on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so they might begin the ascent as soon as the machines for such ascent were laid to the wall. And behind these he placed the flower of his foot, and he ordered the rest of the horse to deploy from the walls over all the hills to prevent any from escaping out of the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed the archers all round, and commanded them to have their arrows ready to shoot. He gave the same commands to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines, and bade others bring ladders and apply them to those parts of the wall that were uninjured, that those who tried to hinder their ascent might leave off guarding the breaches in the wall, while the rest of the besieged might be overpowered by the darts cast at them, and yield an entrance into the city.

§ 25. But Josephus, seeing through Vespasian's plan, set the old men and those that were tired out at the sound part of the wall, as not at all likely to be hurt there, but set the most efficient of his soldiers at the place where the wall was broken down, and in front of them all six men by themselves, among whom he himself shared in the post of greatest danger. He also gave orders that when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they might not be dismayed at it, and also that, to avoid the shower of the enemies' darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields, and retreat a little backwards for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers; and that, when the Romans should lay their machines for ascending the walls, they should leap out, and with their own instruments meet the enemy, and that every one should strive to do his best, not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved,

but to revenge it, as if it was already destroyed; and that they should try and picture before their eyes how their old men would be slain, and their children and wives killed immediately by the enemy; and that they should beforehand spend all their fury on account of the calamities coming upon them, and pour it out on the perpetrators of them.

§ 26. Thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men. As for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city surrounded by a triple line (for none of the former guards were withdrawn for battle), and their enemies with swords in their hands at the breaches in the wall, as also the hilly country above them shining with arms, and the darts ready and poised in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a final wail at their capture, as if their ruin was not only imminent, but had actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should unnerve the courage of the men by pity, and commanded them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not, and went himself to the breach, where his position was allotted. As to those who brought up ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the expected shower of arrows.

§ 27. And now the trumpeters of all the Roman legions sounded together, and the army raised a terrible shout, and as a shower of darts were hurled at a preconcerted signal, the air was darkened by them. But Josephus' men remembered the orders he had given them; they stopped their ears at the shouts, and protected their bodies against the darts; and as for the scaling engines that were laid to the wall, the Jews sallied out at them, before those that should have used them were got upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great hand to hand fight, and much valour both of hands and soul was exhibited, while the Jews earnestly endeavoured, in the extreme danger they were in, not to show less courage than those who, without being in danger, fought so stoutly against them, nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down dead themselves, or killed their antagonists. But as the Jews grew weary with defending

themselves continually, and had not enough men to relieve them, so on the side of the Romans fresh men still succeeded those that were tired, and still new men quickly got upon the scaling engines in the room of those that were thrust down, encouraging one another, and joining side to side, and protecting themselves with their shields over their heads, so that they became an invincible body, and as they pushed back the Jews with their whole line, as though they were but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

§ 28. Then did Josephus in this utmost distress take for his counsellor necessity (which is very clever in invention when it is sharpened by despair), and gave orders to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them: Whereupon they soon got it ready, for many brought it and in great quantities, and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them the vessels as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire. This so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed their compact body, who now tumbled down from the wall in dreadful pain, for the oil easily ran down their whole bodies from head to foot under their full armour, and fed upon their flesh like fire, its fat and unctuous nature rendering it soon heated and slowly cooled. And as the men were encumbered with their helmets and breastplates, they could in no way get free from this burning, and could only leap and roll about in pain, as they fell off their gangways. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they became an easy prey to those that wounded them from behind.

§ 29. However, in spite of this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them, nor did the Jews want wit; for the Romans, although they saw their own men in a miserable condition from this oil that was poured on them, yet tried with all their might to get at those that poured the oil upon them, each reproaching the man before him as a coward that hindered him from exerting his strength. As for the Jews they made use of another stratagem to prevent the ascent of the Romans, and poured boiling fenugreek upon their planks, to make them slip and

fall down; so that neither could those that were coming up, nor those that were going down, stand on their feet; but some of them fell backward upon the machines by which they were ascending and got trampled under foot, and many fell upon the bank they had raised, and when they fell were slain by the Jews. For as the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews, being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. And in the evening the general called off those soldiers that had suffered so sorely in the assault, of whom the slain were not a few, and the wounded were still more numerous; while of the people of Jotapata only six men were killed, though more than three hundred were carried off wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Dæsius.

§ 30. Now when Vespasian comforted his army as to what had happened, he found them angry, and rather wanting action than exhortation, so he gave orders to them to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high, covered with plates of iron on every side, that they might be both firm from their weight, and not liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, and the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also; and also set upon them the strongest of the slingers, who not being descried themselves because of the height they stood upon and the parapets of the towers, hurled their missiles at those that were upon the wall, who were easily seen by them. Thereupon the Jews, being neither able easily to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great that a dart which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it, and that the iron on them made them fire-proof, left the walls, and made sallies upon those that tried to take their city by assault. Thus did the people of Jotapata hold out, though a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retaliate upon their enemies, except that they kept them out of the city, though not without danger to themselves.

§ 31. During these days Vespasian sent out Trajan

against a city called Japha,[1] that lay near to Jotapata, and was disaffected to Rome, and elated by Jotapata against all expectation holding out so long. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian entrusted one thousand horse and two thousand foot. When Trajan arrived at that city, he found it hard to be taken, for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall; but when he saw the people coming out of it ready for battle, he engaged with them, and after a short resistance put them to flight. And as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely that they got inside it with them: but when the Jews endeavoured to get also inside the second wall, their fellow-citizens shut them out, being afraid that the Romans would enter in with them. It was certainly God who, to gratify the Romans by the woes of the Galilæans, did now expose the people of the city every one of them, being shut out by their own hands, to be utterly destroyed by their bloody enemies. For they rushed at the gates *en masse*, earnestly calling on those that kept them by name, but they had their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications. For the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second, so that they were closely cooped up between the two walls, and many were run through by the swords of their own men, and many by their own swords, besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to retaliate, for to the consternation they were in from the enemy was added their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all slain, being twelve thousand in number. Then Trajan, inferring that the city was empty of people that could fight, and although there should be a few of them therein, supposing that they would be too timorous to venture upon any opposition, reserved the actual taking of the city for the general; so he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus to put the finishing strokes on the victory he had gained. Vespasian, there-

[1] *Yáfa.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

upon, imagining there might be some work still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horse and one thousand foot. And he quickly arrived at the city, and put his army in order of battle, and set Trajan in command of the left wing, while he took the right himself, and led the blockading force in person. And when the soldiers applied ladders to the wall on every side, the Galilæans opposed them for a while from above, but soon abandoned the walls. Then did Titus' men leap into the city, and master it quickly, but when they had got inside a fierce battle took place between them and the Jews who formed against them. For those that could fight fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatever came to hand at them from the houses; and the fight was kept up for six hours' time; but when the fighting men were despatched, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, both young and old together, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses. So there were now no males remaining besides the infants, who, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity. And the number of those both now slain in the city, and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand, and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the Galilæans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Dæsius.

§ 32. Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes. For they assembled upon the mountain called Gerizim,[1] which is their holy place, and there they remained: and this mustering together of them, and the spirit they showed, seemed to threaten war. Nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon the neighbouring cities, but notwithstanding the great success the Romans had had, marched on very foolishly considering their own weakness, being ripe for any tumult. Vespasian therefore thought it best to anticipate their movements, and to cut short their attempts. For although all the district of Samaria had always had garrisons posted throughout it, yet the number of those that had gathered together at Mount Gerizim, and their organisation gave ground for alarm. He therefore despatched there Cerealis, the com-

[1] Mount Gerizim, south of Shechem, *Nâblus*.

mander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horse and three thousand foot. And he did not think it safe to go up the mountain, and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher ground, so he surrounded all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were short of water, suffered terribly from the violent heat (for it was summer time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries), so that some of them died that very day from thirst, while others of them preferred slavery to such a death, and fled to the Romans; from whom Cerealis understood, that those who still stayed there were very much cowed by their misfortunes. So he went up the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he first besought them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and so save themselves; and assured them that, if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm; but as he could not prevail upon them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being eleven thousand six hundred. This took place on the twenty-seventh day of the month Dæsius. Such were the calamities that befell the Samaritans.

§ 33. However, the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, and on the forty-seventh day [of the siege] the banks thrown up by the Romans were become higher than the wall. And on that day a certain person deserted to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and how they were worn out with perpetual watching and continual fighting, so that they could not now oppose any energetic force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one attacked them; for about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from their unremitting toil, and when morning sleep steals most upon people thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep, and his advice was that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian suspected this deserter, knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be

inflicted on them; for one of the people of Jotapata (who had been taken prisoner before this) had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they tortured him with fire, he would inform his enemies nothing of the affairs within the city, and when he was crucified, smiled at death. However, the probability of the story made the deserter credited, and Vespasian thought he probably spoke the truth, and that they would be no great sufferers if it was a trap; so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

§ 34. At the appointed hour they marched without noise to the wall; and Titus himself first got upon it, with one of his tribunes Domitius Sabinus, and a few of the fifteenth legion also. And they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After them came Sextus Cerealis the tribune and Placidus, who led on those that were under them. Now though the citadel was taken, and the enemy were moving about in the very midst of the city, and it was already day, the taking of the city was not yet known to those that were taken; for most were tired out and fast asleep, and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army had got in, and they rose up only to find the miseries they were in, and perceived the city was taken only by their being slain. As for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they neither spared nor pitied any, but thrust the people down the precipice from the citadel and so slew them, where the difficulty of the ground hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves. For as they were crowded in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overwhelmed with the crowd of those that came fighting them from the citadel. This incited many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands. For when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being slain by the Romans, and got together in the outlying parts of the city, and killed themselves.

§ 35. However, such of the watch as fled at once, at the

first intimation that the city was taken, went up into one of the towers on the north of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were surrounded by a multitude of enemies, they offered to surrender when it was too late, and then courageously offered themselves for slaughter. And the Romans might have boasted that the conclusion of the siege was without blood [on their side], had not a centurion Antonius been slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery: one of those that had fled into the caverns, who were a great number, begged that this Antonius would reach him his right hand, both to assure him that he would preserve him, and to give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern; and he incautiously reached him out his right hand, when the other was too quick for him, and stabbed him from below in the groin with a spear, and killed him immediately.

§ 36. On this day the Romans slew all the people that appeared openly; and on the following days they searched the hiding places, and attacked those that were under ground and in caverns, and spared males of no age, but only infants and women. And twelve hundred were gathered together as captives. As for those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, forty thousand were counted. And Vespasian gave orders that the city should be rased to the ground, and all the fortifications burnt down. Thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus.

CHAP. VIII.

How Josephus was informed against by a Woman, and was willing to deliver himself up to the Romans; and what Speech he made to his own Men, when they endeavoured to hinder him; and what he said to Vespasian, when he was brought before him; and how Vespasian treated him.

§ 1.

AND now the Romans searched for Josephus, both from the hatred they themselves bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken; for he reckoned that, if he were taken, the chief fomenter of the war would be removed. So they searched among the dead, and looked into the hidden nooks of the city. But when the city was first taken, Josephus was assisted by a certain supernatural providence, for he stole away from the enemy when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, which had a large cavern adjacent to it, which could not be seen by those that were above; and here he met with forty persons of note that had concealed themselves, and had provisions enough to last for not a few days. So in the day-time he hid himself from the enemy who occupied all places, and in the night-time he came out of his cavern, and looked about for some way of escaping, and reconnoitred the watch. But as all places were guarded everywhere on his account, so that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the cavern. Thus he concealed himself two days; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was informed against by her. Thereupon immediately, without losing a moment, Vespasian sent two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up.

§ 2. So they went and invited him to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved: but they did not prevail upon him; for he was suspicious from the probability that one who had done so much against the

Romans would have to suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. And he was afraid that they invited him to come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent to him a third tribune also, Nicanor, who was well known to Josephus, and had been his intimate friend formerly. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they had once conquered, and told him that he had behaved himself so valiantly that the superior officers rather admired than hated him; and that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not to punish him, for he could do that though he should not surrender, but because he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He also added that Vespasian, had he meant to lay a trap for him, would not have sent to him a friend of his, nor have put the fairest colour upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship and meaning treachery, nor would he himself have acquiesced and come to him, had it been to deceive him.

§ 3. Now when Josephus hesitated about accepting Nicanor's proposal, the Roman soldiers were so angry, that they desired to set fire to the cavern, but the tribune would not permit them to do so, being very desirous to take Josephus alive. And now, as Nicanor earnestly pressed Josephus to comply, and he noticed how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night-time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to conjecture well as to the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by the deity; moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, being himself a priest, and of the posterity of priests. So at that moment he became inspired, and remembering the dreadful character of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, "Since it pleases thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, to depress the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of my soul to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly surrender to the Romans, and am content to live. But I declare that I do

not go over to the Romans as a deserter, but as thy minister."

§ 4. When he said this, he gave himself up to Nicanor. But when those Jews who had fled with Josephus understood that he meant to surrender to those that invited him to come up, they stood round him in a body, and cried out, "Now, indeed, may the laws of our forefathers groan aloud, now may God himself well be dejected, who has created the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou fond of life? and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself! how many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty! Thou hast then had a false reputation for manhood, and a false reputation for wisdom, if thou hopest for preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so valiantly, and art willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans has made thee forget thyself, we ought to see to the glory of our forefathers. We will lend thee our right hand and sword. And if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor." At the same time that they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he surrendered to the Romans.

§ 5. Upon this, Josephus was afraid of their attacking him, and yet thought he should be a traitor to the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered, so he began to philosophize to them in the emergency he was in, and spoke to them as follows. "O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? and why do we set our dearest things, the soul and body, at such variance? Does any one say that I am changed? Nay, the Romans are sensible how the matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to die in war, but only according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I flee from the sword of the Romans, I truly deserve to die by my own sword and my own hand; but if they will spare their enemy, how much more justly ought we to spare ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I admit that it is noble to die for liberty; but only in war, and at the

hands of those who try to take that liberty from us; but now our enemies are neither meeting us in battle, nor killing us. Now, he is equally a coward who wishes not to die when he is obliged to die, and he who wishes to die when he is not obliged to do so. What are we afraid of that we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, shall we inflict on ourselves for certain what we are afraid of, when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us? But some one will say that we fear slavery. Are we then altogether free at present? It may also be said that it is a manly act to kill oneself. No, certainly, but a most unmanly one, as I should esteem that pilot most cowardly, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Indeed suicide is unknown to the common nature of all animals, and is impiety to God our Creator. For no animal dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means. For the desire of life is a strong law of nature with all; on which account we deem those that openly try to take it away from us to be our enemies, and we take vengeance on those that try to do so by treachery. And do you not think that God is very angry when a man despises what he has bestowed on him? For it is from him that we have received our being, and we ought to leave it to his disposal to take that being away from us. The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and created out of corruptible matter; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a part of God that inhabits our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys or misuses deposit he has received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and perfidious person; and if any one cast out of his own body the deposit of God, can we imagine that he who is thereby affronted does not know of it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves which run away from their masters shall be punished, though the masters they run away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we endeavour to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not think ourselves guilty of impiety? Do not you know that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay the debt which was received from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame; that their houses and posterity are sure, and that their souls

are pure and obedient, and obtain the most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolution of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, are received in the darkest place in Hades, and God, who is their father, punishes those that offend against either soul or body in their posterity. So God hates suicide, and it is punished by our most wise legislator. For our laws ordain that the bodies of such as kill themselves shall be exposed till sunset without burial, although it be lawful to bury even our enemies: The laws of other nations also enjoin to cut off such men's right hands when they are dead, as they had used them in destroying themselves, for they reckoned that, as the body is alien from the soul, so is the hand also alien from the body. It is, therefore, my friends, a noble thing to reason justly, and not to add to the calamities which men bring upon us impiety towards our Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do so; for to be preserved by our enemies, to whom we have given so many proofs of our courage, is no way inglorious; and if we have a mind to die, it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part, I shall not transfer myself to our enemies' ranks, to be a traitor to myself. For certainly I should then be much more foolish than those who deserted to the enemy, since they did it in order to save themselves, and I should do it for destruction, and that my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter; for if, after the offer of their right hand for security, I be slain by them, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

§ 6. Much similar language did Josephus use to these men, to deter them from committing suicide. But they shut their ears in desperation, having long ago devoted themselves to die, and were irritated at Josephus; and ran upon him with their swords, one from one place, another from another, and called him a coward, and each seemed as if going at once to smite him. But he calling one of them by name, and looking like his general at another, and taking a third by the right hand, and making a fourth

ashamed of himself by praying him to forbear, though distracted in this emergency by various emotions, kept off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to act like wild beasts surrounded on every side, who ever turn on the last assailant. And the right hands of some were paralysed by the reverence they still bore their general even in these extremities, and their swords dropped out of their hands, and several while pointing their swords at him spontaneously desisted.

§ 7. However, in this emergency Josephus was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard. So he said, "Since you are determined to die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to settlement by lot. He whom the lot falls on first, let him be killed by him that has the second lot, and thus fortune shall take us all; nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand, for it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should repent and save himself." This proposal appeared to them very fair, and when he had prevailed upon them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next, supposing that the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death sweeter than life, if Josephus might but die with them. And he was left with another to the last, whether we must say it happened so by chance, or by the providence of God. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he were left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his fellow-countryman, he persuaded him to trust to him and to live as well as himself.

§ 8. Thus Josephus escaped both in the war with the Romans, and in this war with his own friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. And all the Romans flocked to see him; and as the multitude crowded round the general, there was a confused clamour, some rejoicing that Josephus was taken, and some threatening him, and some pressing very near to see him. And those that were at greater distance cried out to have their enemy put to death, while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and marvelled at the reverse in his fortunes; nor were there

any of the Roman commanders, however enraged they had been at him before, but relented at the sight of him. And Titus was moved above all the rest, by Josephus' endurance under his reverses and pity for his youth; for he recalled to mind that but a little while ago he was fighting, and now lay in the hands of his enemies, which made him consider the power of fortune, and how quick is the turn of affairs in war, and how no condition of men is stable and sure. So he then induced a great many as well as himself to commiserate Josephus. He had also very great influence in persuading his father to save his life. However, Vespasian gave strict orders that he was to be kept with great care, as though he intended forthwith to send him to Nero.

§ 9. When Josephus heard this, he said that he had something that he wished to say to the general alone. When therefore all were ordered to withdraw, except Titus and two friends, Josephus said, "Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself captive, but I come to thee as a messenger of greater things. For had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew the custom of the Jews, and how it becomes generals to die. Dost thou intend to send me to Nero? Why? Will not[1] Nero have successors up to thee? Thou, Vespasian, wilt be Cæsar and emperor, and so will thy son here. Bind me now still more carefully, and keep me for thyself, for thou, O Cæsar, wilt not only be lord over me, but over the land and sea and all mankind. And certainly I deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I falsely affirm any thing as from God." When he had said this, Vespasian at first did not believe him, but supposed that Josephus said this, as a cunning trick, in order to be saved alive; but in a little time he was induced to believe what he said to be true, God stirring him up already to think of obtaining the empire, and by other signs foreshowing his advancement. He also found Josephus to have spoken truth on other occasions. For when one of those friends that were present at the secret conference said to Josephus, "I cannot but wonder why thou couldst not foretell to the

[1] I read *οὐ* for *οἱ*, as the sense seems to require.

people of Jotapata that they would be taken, nor couldst foretell this captivity which has happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be silly talk to evade the consequences of the anger against thee;" Josephus replied, "I foretold to the people of Jotapata that they would be captured on the forty-seventh day, and that I should be taken alive by the Romans." Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be true, and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. But he did not set Josephus at liberty from his bonds or from custody, but gave him suits of clothes and other precious gifts; he treated him also in a very kind manner, and continued to do so, Titus co-operating very much in the honour paid to him.

CHAP. IX.

How Joppa was taken, and how Tiberias surrendered.

§ 1.

NOW Vespasian returned to Ptolemais[1] on the fourth day of the month Panemus, and from thence he went to Cæsarea,[2] which lay on the coast, and was a very great city of Judæa, and mostly inhabited by Greeks. Here the citizens received both the Roman army and its general with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicing, partly from the good-will they bore to the Romans, but principally from the hatred they bore to those that were conquered by them. So they came *en masse* clamouring against Josephus, and begged that he might be punished. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by an inconsiderate multitude, with mere silence. He also placed two of the legions at Cæsarea for their winter quarters, perceiving that the city was fit for such a purpose; but he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis,[3] that he might

[1] *'Akka, St. Jean d'Acre.* [2] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisarîych.*
[3] Bethshean, *Beisân.*

not distress Cæsarea with the entire army. Cæsarea was warm even in winter, and suffocating hot in the summer-time, as it lay in a plain and was near the sea.

§ 2. Meantime there was gathered together a great number, as well of such as had through sedition revolted from the Romans as those that had escaped out of the cities that had been overthrown, and they repaired Joppa[1] (which had been laid desolate by Cestius) that it might serve them as a *point d'appui;* and because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to shift their operations to the sea. So they built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates on the seas near Syria and Phœnicia and Egypt, and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their organisation, he sent both foot and horse to Joppa, who entered into it by night as it was unguarded. And those that were in it perceived that they would be attacked, and were afraid, and did not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night out of the reach of darts.

§ 3. Now Joppa is without a haven naturally, for it ends in a rough shore, straight all the rest of it, but the two ends converge towards each other, where there are deep precipices, and great rocks that jut out into the sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound are still shown, attesting the antiquity of that fable, and the north wind blows and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the open sea. Now as these people from Joppa were tossing about in the offing, in the morning a violent wind blew upon them (it is called by those that sail there Black Boreas), and dashed some of their ships against one another there, and some against the rocks; and many that were violently striving against the advancing tide to get into the open sea (for they were afraid of the rocky shore and the enemy upon it) were submerged by the waves that rose mountains high. Nor was there any place where they could flee to, nor any

[1] *Jaffa.*

safety if they stayed where they were, as they were thrust off the sea by the violence of the wind, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans. And there was loud lamentation when the ships dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces; and some of the multitude in them were swallowed up by the waves, and so perished, and a great many were entangled in the wrecks. And some of them thought that to die by their own swords was an easier death than by the sea, and so they killed themselves, however, most were carried away by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the rocks, so that the sea was bloody a long way, and the shore was full of dead bodies, and the Romans watched for those that were carried ashore safe and slew them. And the number of bodies that came ashore was four thousand two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and rased it to the ground.

§ 4. Thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a short time. And Vespasian, to prevent pirates from flocking together there any more, placed a camp in the citadel, and left a troop of horse in it and a few foot, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and that the horse might plunder the surrounding country, and might destroy the neighbouring villages and small towns. So they scoured the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day ravaged and desolated the whole region.

§ 5. Now when the fate of Jotapata[1] was reported at Jerusalem, most at first disbelieved it, not only because of the vastness of the calamity, but also because they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was reported, for not a single person escaped to carry the news, but rumour, naturally apt to spread bad tidings, had of itself spread abroad news that the city was taken. However, the truth oozed out by degrees from the places near Jotapata, and the tidings appeared to all to be too true; but fictitious additions were made to what had really happened, for it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city. This news filled Jerusalem with the greatest sorrow; and in every house, and among all to whom any of the slain

[1] *Jefât.*

were related, there was lamentation for them, but the mourning for the commander was a public one; and some mourned for people who had been their guests, others for their kindred, others for their friends, others for their brothers, but all mourned for Josephus; insomuch that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day, and a great many hired flute-players [1] to lead off their coronachs.

§ 6. But as the truth came out in time, and the real state of affairs at Jotapata, it was found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when the people of Jerusalem understood that he was alive and that the commanders treated him differently than they generally treated captives, they showed as much anger at his being alive as they had shown good-will before when they thought he was dead. He was abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as having been a traitor; and the city was full of indignation and reproaches against him: their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually produce caution in wise men, I mean reverses, became a spur to them to venture on further calamities, and the end of one misery became ever the beginning of another. They therefore were more eager to fight the Romans, intending to take their revenge on Josephus also as well as them. Such was the confusion that now reigned at Jerusalem.

§ 7. Now Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa (which that king himself invited him to do, partly to treat the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private means would enable him to do, and partly by their help to correct such things as were amiss in his kingdom), removed from Cæsarea [2] by the sea-side to that which is called Cæsarea Philippi.[3] And there he

[1] These public mourners, hired upon the supposed death of Josephus, and the real death of many more, illustrate some passages in the Bible, which suppose the same custom, as Matt. xi. 17, where the reader may consult the notes of Grotius.—W.

[2] *Kaisariych.*

[3] Of this Cæsarea Philippi (twice mentioned in our New Testament, Matt. xvi. 13; Mark vii. 27), there are coins still extant, as Spanheim here informs us.—W. Now *Bâniâs.*

rested his army for twenty days, and himself feasted, and returned public thanks to God for the success he had had in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was on the eve of insurrection, and that Taricheæ[1] had revolted (both which cities were part of the kingdom of Agrippa), being resolved to subdue the Jews every where, he thought it opportune to make an expedition against these cities, and for the sake of Agrippa, in return for his hospitality, to bring those cities to reason. So he sent his son Titus to [the other] Cæsarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Scythopolis,[2] which is the largest city of Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, where he also himself went, and waited for his son. He then marched forward with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs from Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the insurgents, called Sennabris.[3] He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horse, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were factiously overpowered by some who tried to force them to fight. When Valerian had ridden up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them. But before he could speak to them, the most warlike of the insurgents made a sally upon them with their arms; their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Shaphat, the captain of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, not thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, even if he were sure of victory, and knowing that it was a hazardous undertaking for a few to fight against many, and for those that were unprovided to fight against those that were ready, and being also alarmed at this unexpected audacity of the Jews, fled away on foot, as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them; which horses

[1] *Kerâk.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 9.

[2] *Beisân.* Scythopolis was the only city of the Decapolis situated west of the Jordan.

[3] *Sinn en-Nabrah*, near the south-west end of the Sea of Galilee, and not far from *Kerak.*

Jesus and his men led off to the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle and not by surprise.

§ 8. Now the elders of the people, and such as seemed of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of the matter, fled to the camp of the Romans: and taking their king with them, fell down before Vespasian as suppliants, and besought him not to despise them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city, but to spare a people that had ever been friendly to the Romans, and to bring the authors of this revolt to punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they had long been anxious to give the Romans the security of their right hands, they had not yet found an opportunity to do so. To these supplications the general hearkened (though he was very angry with the whole city because of the carrying off the six horses), for he saw that Agrippa was greatly concerned about this. And when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue any longer at Tiberias, so they fled to Tarichеæ. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan on with some horse to the mountain-ridge, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace. And as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind as the suppliants, he took his army, and went to the city; upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their saviour and benefactor. But as the army was a great while getting in at the gates because they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broader entrance. However, he charged his men to abstain from rapine and injustice, in order to gratify the king, and on his account also spared the walls, as the king undertook that the citizens would continue [faithful to the Romans] for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by faction.

CHAP. X.

How Taricheæ was taken. A Description of the River Jordan, and of the Country round the Lake of Gennesar.

§ 1.

AND now Vespasian pitched his camp between Tiberias and Taricheæ, and fortified his camp very strongly, suspecting that the war there would be long; for all the insurgents flocked into Taricheæ, relying on the strength of that city, and on the lake that lay near it, which is called Gennesar[1] by the people of the country. The city itself is situated, like Tiberias, at the foot of a mountain, and on all sides not washed by the sea had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias. For the walls of Tiberias had been made strong at the beginning of the Jews' revolt with much expenditure of money and strength, but Taricheæ had enjoyed only the remains of that liberality. But they had many ships ready upon the lake, in order that, if they were beaten on land, they might retire to them, and they were also equipped for a sea-fight if necessary. But as the Romans were fortifying their camp, Jesus and his party were neither dismayed at the numbers nor discipline of the enemy, but made a sally upon them, and at the very first onset dispersed those that were fortifying the camp, and pulled what little work they had done to pieces; but as soon as they saw the armed men mustering together, before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But the Romans pursued them, and drove them to their ships, where they launched out just as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with their missiles, and then cast anchor, and drew up their ships close as in line of battle, and so fought a sort of sea-fight with the enemy who were on land. And Vespasian, hearing that great numbers of them were concentrated in the plain that was before the city, sent his son with six hundred picked horse against them.

[1] The Sea of Galilee. Jewish War, iii. 10, §§ 7, 8.

§ 2. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him that he should want a larger force. But as he saw that most of his cavalry were eager to fight, and that before any reinforcement could come to them, though some were secretly dismayed at the number of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and spoke to his men as follows. "Men and Romans! for it is well for me to remind you in the beginning of my speech what nation you are, that so you may not be ignorant who you are, and against whom we are going to fight. For as to us Romans, no part of the world has been able to escape our hands hitherto; while the Jews, that I may speak of them too, do not yet grow weary of being beaten. And it would be monstrous for us to grow weary in success, when they bear up under reverses. As to the eagerness which you openly show, I see it and rejoice at it; but I am afraid lest the numbers of the enemy should bring secret panic to any individual among you. Let such an one consider again who he is, and against whom he is to fight. For these Jews, though they be very bold and despise death, are but a disorderly body and unskilful in war, and may rather be called a mob than an army. And I need say nothing of our skill and good order; for the only reason why we Romans are exercised for war in time of peace, is that we may not think of numbers when we come to fight with our enemies. For what advantage should we reap by our continual military training, if we must still be equal in numbers to such as have not been used to war? Consider, further, that you are to contend against men unarmed, while you are well armed, against foot, while you are horse, and against those that have no general, while you have one; and as these advantages make you in effect many times as numerous as you really are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the number of men, though they be soldiers, that manages wars with success, but it is their bravery that does it, though there be but a few. And indeed a few are easily set in battle array, and can easily assist one another, while armies too numerous are more hurt by themselves than by the enemy. It is boldness and rashness, emotions caused by

despair, that lead the Jews, emotions powerful indeed in the flush of victory, but quite extinguished at the least ill success; but we are led by courage and discipline and fortitude, which shows itself indeed in our good fortune, and does not desert us for ever even in our bad fortune. Moreover, you will fight for greater stakes than the Jews; for although they run the hazard of war for liberty and country, yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory, and that it may never be said, after we have got dominion of the world, that the Jews are able to confront us? We ought also to reflect that there is no fear of our suffering any irreparable disaster in the present case, for many are ready to assist us, and at hand also, but it is in our power to win this victory by ourselves, and I think we ought to anticipate those troops my father is sending to our assistance, that our success may be unshared and so greater. And I cannot but think that now my father and I and you are all put on our trial, whether he is worthy of his former glorious performances, whether I am his son, and whether you are really my soldiers. For it is usual for him to conquer, and for myself, I could not bear the thought of returning to him if I were defeated. And for you, how will you not be ashamed, if you are beaten, when your commander goes before you into danger? For know well that I shall go into danger first, and first attack the enemy. Do not you therefore desert me, but be persuaded that God will assist and encourage my charge. Know this also before we begin, that we shall have better success in a hand to hand fight than we should have if we were to fight at a distance."

§ 3. As Titus was saying this, a divine fury fell upon his men, and when Trajan came up with four hundred horse, before the fight began, they chafed because the fame of the victory would be diminished by being shared with others. Vespasian had also sent Antonius Silo with two thousand archers, and had charged them to occupy the mountain opposite the city, and repel those that were upon the wall. And they did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them in that quarter. And now Titus rode first against the enemy, and the others with a shout after him, and they deployed so as to make as large a front in the plain as the enemy, so that they

appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now although the Jews were dismayed at their attack and good order, they resisted their charge for a little while; but being pricked with their long poles, and upset by the charge of the horse, they got trampled under foot. And as many of them were slain on every side, they dispersed and fled to the city as fast as each of them was able. And Titus hotly pursued and slew some from behind, and some he cut his way through as they were *en masse*, and some he charged face to face, and ran them through, and many he charged as they fell one upon another, and stabbed them. And he intercepted the retreat of all to the walls, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their numbers, and got away, and fled into the city.

§ 4. And now a terrible disturbance awaited them inside the city. For the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were indisposed to fight from the very beginning, and much more so now they had been beaten; but the foreigners, who were very numerous, tried to force them to fight so much the more, insomuch that there was a clamour and a tumult among them, all being angry with one another, and all but fighting. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, "Fellow soldiers, now is our time; why do we make any delay, when God is giving up the Jews to us? Take the victory which is given you: do not you hear what a noise they make? Those that have escaped our hands are at variance with one another. We have the city, if we make haste. But besides haste we want energy and courage. For no great thing is wont to be accomplished without danger. And we must not only prevent the enemy uniting again, which necessity will soon compel them to do, but we must also anticipate the coming of our own men to our assistance, that (few as we are) we may conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves alone take the city."

§ 5. Directly Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and led the way to the lake, through which he rode, and entered the city first, and the others followed him. Thereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with

panic at his boldness, nor durst any one venture to fight or hinder him, but Jesus and those that were with him left the garrison and fled through the country, while others ran down to the lake, and met the enemy face to face; and some were slain as they were trying to get on board their ships, and others as they attempted to swim to those ships that had already put out to the middle of the lake. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, as those foreigners that had not fled already fought against the Romans, but the inhabitants were killed without fighting (for in hope of Titus' giving them his right hand for their security, and being conscious that they had not given their counsel for war, they avoided fighting), till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt, and then put a stop to any further slaughter, feeling pity for the inhabitants of the place. As for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

§ 6. Thereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, to announce to him the good news of what he had done: at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious success of his son (for he thought now the greatest part of the war was over). He then went to Taricheæ himself, and set men to surround and guard that city, and commanded them to take care that nobody got privately out of it, and to kill such as attempted to do so. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded rafts to be constructed to pursue those that had fled in their ships. These rafts were quickly constructed accordingly, because there was plenty of material, and a great number of carpenters also.

§ 7. Now this lake of Gennesar[1] is so called from the country adjoining it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length a hundred and forty, and its water is sweet and very agreeable for drinking, for it is finer than the thick water of marshes, the lake also is pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores and sands; it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a softer nature than river or fountain water, and cooler invariably than

[1] The Sea of Galilee.

one would expect from the extent of the lake. Indeed, when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as snow, so the country people keep it in the open air by night in summer. There are also several kinds of fish in it, different both in taste and appearance to those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium [1] is thought to be the source of the Jordan, but in reality it is carried to it underground in some secret manner from the place called Phiala:[2] which is, as you go up to Trachonitis,[3] a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cæsarea,[4] and not far from the road on the right hand. Indeed the lake gets its name of Phiala [5] very justly from its roundness, being round like a wheel; and its water continues always up to its edge, without either sinking or running over. And though this source of the Jordan was not formerly known, it was discovered when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis. For he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found carried down the water to Panium, where the ancients thought the source of the river was. As for Panium itself, its natural beauty has been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and set off by his wealth. Now the Jordan's visible stream rises at this cavern, and divides the marshes and swamps of the lake of Semechonitis;[6] and when it has run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city of Julias,[7] and then passes through the middle of the lake of Gennesar,[8] after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then has its exit into the lake Asphaltitis.[9]

§ 8. The country also that is near the lake has the same name of Gennesar,[10] and is wonderful for its nature as well

[1] *Bâniâs.* Jewish War, i. 21, § 3. The allusion here is to the cavern in the hill-side out of which one of the sources of Jordan issues.

[2] *Birket er-Râm.* The circular lake on the road from *Bâniâs* to Damascus. There is no truth in the belief that a subterranean connection exists between the lake and the spring.

[3] Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

[4] Cæsarea Philippi, *Bâniâs.*

[5] Vial or bowl.

[6] The 'waters of Merom,' *Baheiret el-Hûleh.* Antiq. v. 5, § 1; Jewish War, iv. 1, § 1.

[7] Bethsaida-Julias. Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.

[8] The Sea of Galilee.

[9] The Dead Sea.

[10] 'The land of Gennesaret,' now the plain *el-Ghuweir*, at north-west end of the lake.

as its beauty. For its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air is so well mixed that it agrees very well with different sorts. Thus walnuts, which of all trees require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig-trees also and olives grow near them, though they require a more temperate air. One might call this country the ambitious display of nature (as it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together), and the happy contention of the seasons (as if every one of them laid claim to this country); for it not only nourishes different sorts of fruit beyond men's expectation, but preserves them a great while. For it supplies the principal fruits, as grapes and figs, continually during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe through the whole year. For besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain, which the people of the country call Capharnaum.[1] Some have thought this to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces a fish[2] similar to that produced by the lake near Alexandria. And the length of this country extends along the banks of the lake that bears the same name for thirty furlongs, and it is in breadth twenty furlongs. Such is the nature of the district.

§ 9. And when the rafts were constructed, Vespasian put upon them as many of his troops as he thought sufficient to deal with those that were upon the lake, and put out after them. Now those who had been driven on to the lake, could neither flee to the land, where all was in the enemies' hand, nor could they fight upon equal terms on the water. For their vessels were small and fitted only for piracy, and were too weak to fight with Vespasian's rafts, and the men on board them were so few, that they were afraid to come to close quarters with the Romans, who attacked them *en masse*. However, as they sailed round the rafts, and sometimes came near them, they

[1] The great spring at *et-Tabghah*, which was carried by an aqueduct to Gennesaret.

[2] Called *coracinus*. Like our perch.

threw stones at the Romans when they were a good way off, or came closer and smote them; but they received most hurt themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a continuous rattle (for they threw them against men in complete armour), while the Roman darts pierced them, and when they ventured to come near the Romans, they suffered themselves before they could do any harm to them, and were submerged, they and their ships together. And as for those that endeavoured to break through, the Romans reached at them and ran many of them through with their long pikes, and others they slew leaping into their vessels with their swords in their hands, and some who were entangled by the collision of the rafts they captured as also their vessels. And for such as were submerged, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or captured by the rafts, and if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to the enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands. And indeed they were slain in various manners everywhere, till those that remained being routed were forced to get on land, as their vessels were surrounded. And as many were prevented getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake, and the Romans slew many who leaped out of their vessels on to the land. And one might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for none escaped. And a terrible stench and dreadful sight was there on the following days all over that country; for the shores were full of wrecks and of dead bodies all swollen; and as the dead bodies were burnt by the sun and putrefied, they corrupted the air, so that this tragic sight was not only a pitiable object to the Jews, but was even hateful to those who had been the authors of it. This was the upshot of the sea-fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand five hundred.

§ 10. After the fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Tarichеæ,[1] to distinguish the foreigners from the inhabitants (for the foreigners appeared to have begun the

[1] *Kerak.*

war), and he consulted with his generals whether he ought to save the inhabitants or not. And when they all said that the letting them go would be detrimental to the Roman interests (for if they were set at liberty, they would not be quiet, since they would be people destitute of homes, and might be able to compel such as they fled to to fight against them), Vespasian came to the conclusion that they did not deserve to be saved alive, and that, if they escaped, it would be to the detriment of those who let them go, and considered with himself how they should be slain. For if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would become his bitter enemies; for they would never put up with so many that had been suppliants to him being killed; and he could not himself bear the idea of offering violence to them, after they had surrendered on promise of their lives. However, his friends carried the day, for they said that nothing done against the Jews could be impious, and that he ought to prefer what was expedient to what was honourable, when both could not co-exist. So he gave the Jews a doubtful security, for he permitted them to go out along no other road than that which led to Tiberias. And as they readily believed what they wished to be true, and went along securely and openly with their effects on the road which was allowed them, the Romans occupied all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might escape, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium; and commanded to kill the old men together with the others that were useless for war, who were twelve hundred in number. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth,[1] and sold the remainder for slaves, namely thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them: and the king sold these also. As for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites,[2] and Gaulanites,[3]

[1] See Suetonius, Nero, § 19.
[2] The people of Trachonitis.
[3] The people of Gaulanitis, *Jaulân*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 4.

and from Hippos,[1] and some from Gadara,[2] most were factious persons and fugitives, whose bad characters in peace commended war to them. All these were taken prisoners on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMALA TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM.

CHAP. I.

The Siege and Capture of Gamala.

§ 1.

NOW all those Galilæans who had revolted from the Romans after the capture of Jotapata, joined them again upon the capture of Taricheæ, and the Romans got possession of all the fortresses and cities, except Gischala[3] and the fortresses on Mount Tabor.[4] Gamala[5] also, a city opposite Taricheæ, lying above the lake, joined with these. This city formed part of Agrippa's kingdom, as did also Sogane[6] and Seleucia.[7] Now both Sogane and Gamala belonged to Gaulanitis[8] (for Sogane was a part of what was called Upper Gaulana, as was Gamala of Lower Gaulana), and Seleucia was situated near the lake of the Semichonitæ,[9] which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length;

[1] *Sûsiyeh.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.
[2] *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[3] *el-Jish.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.
[4] At the north-east end of the plain of Esdraelon.
[5] *Kul'at el-Husn.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.
[6] *Sukhnin.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.
[7] Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.
[8] *Jaulân.*
[9] *Baheiret el-Hûleh.*

and its marshes extend to the place called Daphne,[1] which in other respects is a delicious place, and has fountains which supply water to what is called the Little Jordan,[2] under the temple of the golden calf,[3] and send it on to the Great Jordan.[4] Now Agrippa had united Sogane and Seleucia to himself by treaty at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans, but Gamala did not come over to him, as it relied upon the difficulty of getting at it even more than Jotapata.[5] For it was situated upon the rugged ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of hump in the middle; for where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much before as behind, so that it is like a camel in shape, from which indeed it gets its name,[6] though the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately. Both on its side and front it breaks off in inaccessible ravines; but behind it is somewhat easier of ascent, where it joins the mountain, but this too the people belonging to the place have by an oblique trench made difficult of ascent. On its acclivity, which is almost perpendicular, houses are built, terribly thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It faced south, and its southern ridge, which reached to an immense height, served as a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice not walled in, ending in a very deep ravine. There was also within the walls a spring of water, where the city came to an end.

§ 2. Though the city was naturally so hard to take, Josephus had made it still stronger by building a wall round it, and by mines and underground passages. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature

[1] Probably Dan should be read here, now *Tell el-Kâdy*, where one of the sources of Jordan rises; there is, however, a mound called *Difneh*, north of Lake *Hûleh*, which represents an ancient Daphne.

[2] The stream from *Tell el-Kâdy*.

[3] Here we have the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's golden calves, at the exit of the Little Jordan into the Great Jordan, near a place called Daphne, but of old Dan. See Antiq. viii. 8, § 2. But Reland suspects, that even here we should read Dan instead of Daphne, there being no where else any mention of a place called Daphne hereabouts.—W.

[4] The stream from *Bâniâs*. [5] *Jefât*. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

[6] Gamala, as though Camala. That is the Paronomasia.

of the place than the people of Jotapata had been, but they had much fewer fighting men in it, and had such confidence in the natural strength of the place, that they did not take in any more. For the city was full of those that had fled to it for safety, on account of its strength. So it held out against those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it for seven months.

§ 3. And now Vespasian removed from Emmaus,[1] where he had encamped before the city of Tiberias (now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered Warm Baths, for in it is a spring of warm water useful for healing), and went to Gamala. But its situation was such, that he was not able to surround it with soldiers to watch it; but where it was practicable, he set his men to watch it, and occupied the mountain which lay above it. And as the legions, according to their usual custom, fortified their camp on it, he began to cast up earthworks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the city was, and there the fifteenth legion pitched their camp; while the fifth legion was on duty opposite the middle of the city, and the tenth legion filled up the ditches and the ravines. Now at this time, when king Agrippa came near the walls, and endeavoured to speak to those that were on the walls about surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers. As for the king, he was immediately surrounded by his own men, but the Romans were excited to set about the siege from their indignation on the king's account, and fear on their own account; for they concluded that these men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies, seeing they were so savage against one of their own nation, who advised them to nothing but what was for their advantage.

§ 4. So when the earthworks were finished, which was soon done owing to the multitude of hands and their being accustomed to such work, the Romans brought up their machines. But Chares and Joseph, who were the most influential men in the city, set their armed men in order, though they were greatly afraid, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they

[1] Hammath, *Hammâm Tabarîya*. Antiq. xviii. 2, § 3.

had not a sufficient quantity either of water or other necessaries. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the walls, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were bringing up the machines; but when those machines hit them with darts and stones, they retired into the city. Then did the Romans bring up battering-rams to three separate points, and battered in the wall, and poured in over the breaches made, with a mighty sound of trumpets and din of armour, and shouts of the soldiers, and rushed in upon those that were in the city. But they resisted the Romans for some time at their first entrance, and prevented their going any further, and with great courage repelled them; and the Romans were so overpowered by the numbers who routed them on every side, that they were obliged to flee to the upper parts of the city; whereupon the people turned round and fell upon their enemies who attacked them, and thrust them down hill, and kept slaying them as they were crowded together on the narrow and difficult ground. And as the Romans could neither repel those that were above them, nor go back through their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to take refuge on the roofs of their enemies' houses, which were close to the ground. But these, being thus full of soldiers, could not bear the weight, and soon fell in; and when one house fell in it shook down a great many of the houses under it, as they again did those that were under them. In this way a very great number of the Romans perished, for they were in such a hopeless condition, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they still leaped upon the roofs of them. So many were buried in the ruins, and many of those that got from under them were injured in some part of their bodies, and a still greater number were suffocated by the dust that choked them. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what injury they suffered themselves, pressed upon the enemy, and thrust them on to the tops of the houses, and when they stumbled in the steep and narrow streets, and were perpetually tumbling down, they threw their missiles at them from above, and kept slaying them. And the very ruins afforded them stones, and for iron

weapons the dead bodies of the enemies afforded them what they wanted; for drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to despatch such as were half dead. Many also fell down from the roofs of the houses, and died from the fall. Nor indeed was flight easy for those that were beaten back, for they were so ignorant of the roads, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without recognising one another, and fell foul of one another.

§ 5. Now those that were able with great difficulty to find their way out of the city retired. But Vespasian ever stayed among those that were hard pressed (for he was deeply affected at seeing the city falling in ruins about his army), and, neglecting his own safety, went up gradually to the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left there in the midst of dangers, having only a very few with him; for even his son Titus was not with him at this time, having been sent into Syria to Mucianus. However, he thought it neither safe nor decorous to flee, but calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage, as if possessed by a divine fury, he ordered those that were with him to form the testudo with their shields over their bodies and armour, and so bore up against the enemy's attack, who came running down from the top of the city, and without showing any dread at the numbers of the men or of their darts, he stood his ground, until the enemy took notice of the divine courage of his soul, and abated in their ardour. And when they pressed less keenly upon him, he retired slowly, not showing the enemy his back till he had got outside the walls. Now a very great number of the Romans fell in this battle, among whom was Ebutius, the decurion, a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but everywhere and on former occasions, to be of the truest courage, and he was one that had done very great harm to the Jews. And a certain centurion, whose name was Gallus, being surrounded in the confusion, stole with ten soldiers into the house of a certain person, where he overheard them talking at supper about what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves (for both Gallus and those with him

were Syrians). And he got up in the night-time, and cut all their throats, and got back safe, he and the other ten soldiers, to the Romans.

§ 6. And now Vespasian set himself to comfort his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on its ill success, both because they had never before fallen into such a calamity, and still more because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided saying any thing, that he might by no means seem to complain of their conduct. He said that they ought to bear manfully what was common in war, considering the nature of war, and that conquest could never be without bloodshed, for fortune was fickle. And as they had killed so many myriads of the Jews, they now paid fortune only a small return. And as it was the part of weak people to be too much elated by success, so it was the part of cowards to be too much disheartened in reverses. "For the change from the one to the other is quick, and he is the best warrior who is of a sober mind under misfortunes, that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully repair mistakes. As to what has now happened, it is neither owing to our own effeminacy, nor to the valour of the Jews; but the difficulty of the ground is the reason both of their success and our defeat. As to this one might blame your excess of zeal. For when the enemy had retired to their heights, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not have exposed yourselves to the dangers that presented themselves at the top of the city; but upon having mastered the lower parts of the city by degrees, you ought to have provoked those that had retired to the heights to a safe and steady battle; whereas, by being so keen for victory, you took no care for your own safety. But this incautiousness in war and mad zeal is not the habit of the Romans, for we get our success by skill and good order; it is rather the conduct of barbarians, and what the Jews mainly owe their usual defeats to. We ought therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be rather angry than any longer dejected at this unworthy reverse. And let every one seek for his best consolation from his own hand; for so he will avenge

those that have been slain, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will endeavour, as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies in every engagement, and to retire last."

§ 7. Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech. As for the people of Gamala, they took courage for a little while after such great and unexpected success. But when they considered with themselves afterwards that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflected that they could not escape (and their provisions began already to be short), they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them; however, they did not neglect what might ensure their safety, as far as they were able, but the most courageous of them manned those parts of the wall that were broken down, while the rest manned as much of the wall as still remained entire. And as the Romans raised their earthworks, and attempted again to take the city by assault, a great many fled out of the city by ravines difficult of access, where no guards were placed, as also through underground passages. But all those citizens who were afraid of being taken, and so stayed in the city, perished for want of food, for what food there was was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

§ 8. Such was the unfortunate condition of the people of Gamala. And Vespasian besides this siege marched against those that had seized upon Mount Tabor[1] (a place that lies midway between the great plain and Scythopolis[2]); whose top reaches as high as thirty furlongs, and is almost inaccessible on its north slope; its top is table land of twenty-six furlongs, and it is entirely surrounded by a wall; which Josephus erected, long as it is, in forty days, who was furnished with other materials and with water from below, for the inhabitants only made use of rain water. As, therefore, a great multitude of people had gathered together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen. Now, as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he

[1] The position assigned to Mount Tabor is not quite accurate. Scythopolis is at the end of the Valley of Jezreel to the south of Tabor.

[2] *Beisán.*

invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intercession for them; and they came down, but with treacherous designs. Placidus also had treacherous designs upon them, though he spoke mildly to them, intending to capture them when he got them in the plain; they also came down as if to comply with his proposals, but really intended to fall upon him when he was off his guard. However, Placidus' stratagem carried the day. For when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away, and when they pursued, he drew them a great way along the plain, and then made his horsemen turn round. Thereupon he beat them, and slew most of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest, and prevented their return. So they left Mount Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem, whereupon the people of the country came to terms with him, for their water failed them, and delivered up both the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

§ 9. Now the bolder of the people of Gamala fled away and hid themselves, while the infirm perished by famine; but the men of war sustained the siege till the two and twentieth day of the month Hyperberetæus, when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, got under a high tower that was near them, and secretly undermined it, nor did those that guarded it perceive them, either when they were approaching it, for it was night, nor when they had actually got up to it. These soldiers avoided making a noise, and when they had rolled away five of the strongest stones, leaped away; and the tower fell down suddenly with a very great noise. And its guards fell headlong with it, whereupon those that kept guard at other places were so alarmed that they fled, and the Romans slew many of those that ventured to try and break through, among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was trying to escape at that part of the wall that was broken down. And as those that were in all parts of the city were greatly confounded at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great panic fell upon them, as though all the enemy had burst in upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was in bed and in the doctors' hands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his illness fatal. However, the Romans

so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

§ 10. At that time Titus (who was now with the army), in his indignation at the reverse the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horse and some foot with them, and entered without noise into the city. Now when the watch perceived that he had passed by them, they shouted out and betook themselves to their arms; and as his entrance was soon known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and wives, and dragged them after them, and fled up to the citadel with lamentation and cries, while others of them encountered Titus, and were killed without any intermission. And all who were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards. And the groans of those that were being killed were endless everywhere, and the blood ran down all the lower parts of the city from the upper. And now Vespasian himself came up to Titus' assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him. Now this upper part of the city was everywhere rocky and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast height, and very full of people on all sides, and surrounded by precipices, and there the Jews cut down those that came up to them, and did much mischief to the others by their darts, and rolled down large stones upon them, while they themselves were so high that the enemies' darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a terrible storm as was directly instrumental to their destruction, for it carried the Roman darts against them, and made those which they threw return back, or drove them obliquely away from the foe. Nor could the Jews stand upon the precipices because of the violence of the wind, as they had no firm footing, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them. So the Romans got up and surrounded them, and slew some as they were defending themselves, and others as they were holding out their hands for quarter. For the remembrance of those that had been slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now. And a great number of those

who were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and wives and themselves also headlong into the ravine below near the citadel, which had been dug out a vast depth. And it so happened that the anger of the Romans appeared to be milder than the desperation of those that were now taken; for the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that threw themselves down was found to be five thousand. Nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip's sister, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus, who had been general of king Agrippa's army; and these escaped because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans when the city was taken. For they spared not so much as infants; of whom many were flung down by each of them from the citadel. Thus was Gamala taken on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperberetæus, the city having first revolted on the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpiæus.

CHAP. II.

The Surrender of Gischala; when John flees from it to Jerusalem.

§ 1.

NOW no place in Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala,[1] whose people were desirous of peace, for they were mostly husbandmen, and ever applied themselves to cultivating the fruits of the earth. However, a great band of robbers had crept in among them to their detriment, and some of their community were infected with the same contagion. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this revolt, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and very versatile in character, sanguine in expecting great things, and very clever in getting what he hoped for, and it was known to every body that he desired

[1] *el-Jish.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

war that he might thrust himself into authority. And the seditious part of the people of Gischala put themselves under his management, owing to whom probably the people, who had already sent ambassadors to treat of surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle array. Vespasian sent Titus against them with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, and himself returned to Cæsarea[1] with the two other legions, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking also that the plenty which was in those cities would recruit their bodies and spirits for the struggles that still lay before them. For he saw there would be no little trouble about Jerusalem, as it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation, and as those that had fled all flocked into it. It was also naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little anxious about it. Moreover, he thought the men that were in it so courageous and bold, that even without the walls it would be hard to subdue them. So he exercised his soldiers beforehand for the work, as they train athletes for their contests.

§ 2. Now when Titus rode up to Gischala, he saw it would be easy for him to take the city by assault; but he knew also that, if he took it by storm, the people would be butchered by the soldiers without mercy (and he was already glutted with blood), and he pitied the majority who would then perish indiscriminately with the guilty, so he desired rather that the city might be surrendered up to him on terms. Accordingly, as he saw the walls full of men, who were mostly those that had been led astray, he said to them, that he wondered what it was they relied on, when they alone stayed to fight the Romans, after every other city had been taken by them, when they had seen cities much better fortified than theirs overthrown by a single assault, while all that had trusted themselves to the good faith of the Romans, which he now offered them, without regarding their former insolence, enjoyed their possessions in safety. For their hope of liberty might be pardoned, but their continuing to fight for what was impossible was inexcusable.

[1] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

He added that, if they would not comply with his humane offer and promise of security, they should have experience of a war that would spare nobody, and should soon be made sensible that their walls would be but amusement for the Roman battering-rams, in relying on which walls they demonstrated themselves to be the only Galilæans that were arrogant captives.

§ 3. To these words of Titus the people could not only make no reply, but could not so much as get upon the wall, for it was all occupied by the robbers, who also guarded the gates, that nobody should go out for submission, nor admit any of Titus' horsemen into the city. But John answered that for himself he was content to accept Titus' offer, and that he would either persuade or force those that refused them. However, he said, Titus ought to pay so much regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them that one day (for it was the sabbath), on which it was unlawful not only to fight, but to treat of peace also. For even the Romans were not ignorant how the period of the seventh day was among them a cessation from all labour; and he who should compel them to transgress the law about that day, would be equally guilty as those who were compelled to transgress it. He added that this delay could be of no disadvantage to Titus (for what could any body think of doing in the night, unless fleeing away? which he could prevent by placing his camp round them), and that they should think it a great point gained, if they were not obliged to transgress the laws of their country; and that it would be becoming in him, who intended to grant them peace beyond their expectation, to regard the laws of those he saved alive. He thus put a trick upon Titus, not so much out of regard to the seventh day, as to his own preservation, for he was afraid that he would be left in the lurch directly the city was taken, and that his only hopes of life lay in his flight that night. Now this was the work of God, who so preserved this John for the destruction of Jerusalem, so that not only was Titus prevailed upon by this pretext for delay, but also pitched his camp further off the city at Cydyssa.[1] This Cydyssa was a

[1] Kedesh Naphtali, *Kades.* Jewish War, ii. 18, § 1.

strong inland village of the Tyrians, which always hated and was at war with the Galilæans, and had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified, which made it a convenient place for its enmity to our nation.

§ 4. Now during the night, when John saw that there was no guard of the Romans about the city, he seized the opportunity, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were with him, but also a considerable number of those that had little to do together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive or losing his life, yet could he take out of the city with him a multitude of women and children as far as twenty furlongs; but there he left them, as he proceeded further on his journey, when sad were the lamentations of those that were left behind; for the further every one of them had come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also frightened themselves with the idea that those who would carry them into captivity were close at hand, and kept turning back at the mere noise they themselves made in their hasty flight, as if those from whom they fled were close upon them. Many of them also missed their ways, and the struggling of those on the road who tried to get before the rest crushed many to death. Indeed, miserable was the destruction of women and children, and some of them ventured to call their husbands and kinsmen back, beseeching them with the bitterest lamentations to wait for them. But John's exhortation prevailed, who cried out to them to save themselves and flee to a place where, if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they could take their revenge on them for it. So this multitude that ran away was scattered abroad, according as each had strength or speed of foot.

§ 5. The next day Titus came to the walls to complete the arrangements for the surrender of the city; whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him with their children and wives, and hailed him as their benefactor, who had delivered the city from its garrison. They also informed him of John's flight, and besought him to spare them, and to enter the city and bring any

insurgents that remained to punishment. But Titus, disregarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horse to pursue John, but they could not overtake him, for he was got to Jerusalem by now, but they slew six thousand of those who had gone out with him, and surrounded and brought back with them almost three thousand of the women and children. However, Titus was greatly vexed that he could not bring this John, who had deluded him, to immediate punishment; though he had captives enough, as well as slain enough, to satisfy his anger, though he missed of John. And he entered the city amidst acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall to show a military occupation, he repressed those that disturbed the city rather by threats than by punishment, for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons from private hatred and variance, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to leave a guilty person in suspense with his fears, than to destroy with him one that did not deserve it. For probably such a one would learn prudence from fear of punishment, and feel shame at his former offences when he was forgiven; whereas the punishment of such as had once been put to death could never be undone. However, he placed a garrison in the city for its security, by which means he could restrain those that were likely to revolt, and could leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. Thus was all Galilee reduced, but not till after it had cost the Romans much pains first.

CHAP. III.

Concerning John of Gischala. Also concerning the Zealots, and the High Priest Ananus; as also how the Jews raised Factions in Jerusalem.

§ 1.

NOW upon John's entry into Jerusalem the whole body of the people poured forth, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives, and inquired of them what misfortunes had happened abroad, as their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in. But the fugitives talked big under their misfortunes, and pretended that they had not fled from the Romans, but only come there to fight them with less hazard; for it would be an unreasonable and fruitless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala[1] and such weak cities, when they ought to husband up their weapons and vigour, and reserve them for the metropolis. But when they related to them the taking of Gischala, and their "decent departure," as they expressed it, from that place, most people understood it to be no better than a flight. And when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great alarm, and inferred these things to be plain indications that they would be taken also. As for John, he blushed very little for those he had left behind him, but went about among the people individually, and egged them on to war by the hopes he gave them, for he affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. He also bantered the ignorance of the inexperienced, as if the Romans, even if they could take to themselves wings, could never fly over the walls of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulty in taking the villages of Galilee, and wore out their engines of war against their walls.

§ 2. By these harangues of John most of the young men

[1] *el-Jish.*

were led astray and excited to the war, but as to the more prudent and older men, there was not one of them who did not foresee what was coming, and make lamentation as if the city was already undone. In such confusion were the people at Jerusalem, but the population all over the country was at variance before the sedition at Jerusalem began. For Titus went from Gischala to Cæsarea,[1] and Vespasian went from Cæsarea to Jamnia[2] and Azotus,[3] and took them both, and when he had put garrisons into them he returned with a great number of the people who had come over to him upon his offering them his right hand. There was also disorder and civil war raised in every city, and all those that had a respite from the Romans turned their hands against one another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were enamoured of war and those that desired peace. At first this quarrelsome temper attacked persons in families who could not agree among themselves, and afterwards those people that were dearest to one another broke away from one another, and every one associated with those who held his own opinions, and already began to range themselves on different sides throughout the community. And faction was everywhere, and those that were for innovation and desirous of war were by their youth and boldness too powerful for the aged and prudent. And first all the people of the country betook themselves individually to plunder, after which they got together in companies to rob the people of their district, so that in barbarity and lawlessness those of the same nation in no way differed from the Romans; nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be destroyed by the Romans than to be undone by one another.

§ 3. And the Roman garrisons in the cities, partly from their disinclination to trouble themselves, partly from the hatred they bore to the nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the captains of these companies of robbers everywhere, being satiated with rapine all over the country, got together from all parts, and became a compact band of wickedness, and stole into

[1] *Kaisariyeh.* [2] *Yebnah.*
[3] Ashdod, *Esdûd.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

Jerusalem, which was now a city without a governor, and which, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to the nation, and now still more, because all men supposed that those who flocked into the city came out of kindness and for their assistance. And yet these very men, besides the sedition they raised, were the direct cause of the city's destruction eventually; for as they were an unprofitable and idle population, they consumed those provisions beforehand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men, and besides the war brought sedition and famine on the Jews.

§ 4. There were other robbers besides that came out of the country and entered the city, and joining to them those in the city who were worse than themselves, committed every kind of barbarity; for they did not confine their audacity to rapine and plundering only, but proceeded as far as murdering men, and that not in the night-time or privately, or ordinary persons, but openly in the day-time, and began with the most eminent persons. For the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal race, and the most influential man in the whole city, insomuch that the public treasures were committed to his care; him they arrested and put in prison: and next they did the same to Levias, a person of great note, and to Sophas the son of Raguel, both of whom were of royal race also; and besides these, they did the same to the principal men of the country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people, and every one contented himself with seeing to his own safety, as if the city had been taken in war.

§ 5. But they were not satisfied with the confinement into which they had put these men, nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were influential men, and had numerous relations who were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the people also would perhaps be so moved at these unlawful proceedings, as to rise in a body against them. They therefore resolved to put these prisoners to death, so they despatched to the prison one John, who was the ripest for murder of them all; he was called the son of Dorcas in the language of our country. Ten men accompanied him into

the prison with their swords drawn, and they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The chief pretext they feigned for so flagrant a crime was that these men had discussed the surrender of Jerusalem with the Romans, and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty, and by degrees came to boast of this bold act of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviours of the city.

§ 6. Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of insolence, that these last took upon them to appoint high priests. And when they had set aside the succession of those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they appointed certain unknown and lowborn persons to that office, that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings. For those who obtained this highest of all honours without any desert were forced to obey those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance with one another by various contrivances and tales, and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased owing to the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures, till, satiated with the unjust actions they had done to men, they transferred their insolence to God himself, and went into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

§ 7. And now when the multitude were already going to rise up against them (for Ananus, the oldest of the high priests, instigated them to it, a very wise man, who would perhaps have saved the city, if he could have escaped the hands of those who plotted against him), these men made the temple of God their stronghold against the troubles they feared from the people, and the sanctuary became their refuge and head-quarters of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced, which was more painful than what they actually did. For to test the submission of the populace, and to see how far their own power extended, they attempted to dispose of the high priesthood by lots, whereas, as I have said already, it was to descend by family succession. The pretext they made for this plan was ancient usage, for they said that the high priesthood was of old determined by lot; but it was actually the abrogation of a constant law, and a cunning contrivance to

seize upon power, by making what appointments they themselves pleased.

§ 8. Thereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Eniachim,[1] and cast lots which of it should be the high priest; and by fortune the lot fell so as to demonstrate their iniquity in the plainest manner, for it fell upon one whose name was Phannias, the son of Samuel, of the village of Aphtha,[2] a man not only not sprung from high priests, but one that did not clearly know what the high priesthood was, such a rustic was he; yet did they drag this man against his will from the country, and gave him a part to play foreign to his character, as if on the stage, and also put upon him the sacred garments, and instructed him what he was to do at the right time. This horrid wickedness was sport and pastime to them, but the other priests, who at a distance saw their law made a jest of, could not but shed tears, and sorely lamented the cessation of their sacred honours.

§ 9. And now the people could no longer bear this act of audacity, but all were moved with zeal as if to overthrow a tyranny. Those that seemed the most prominent were Gorion, the son of Joseph, and Symeon, the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them (by going up and down when they were assembled together in crowds, and by going to each apart), to inflict punishments upon these destroyers of their liberty, and to purge the temple of these bloody polluters of it. The best esteemed also of the high priests, as Jesus the son of Gamala, and Ananus the son of Ananus, at their assemblies bitterly reproached the people for their apathy, and excited them against the Zealots, for that was the name those audacious persons went by, as if they were zealous in good practices, and were not rather zealous and extravagant in the worst actions.

§ 10. So when the multitude were gathered together in assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men

[1] This tribe or course of the high priests, or priests here called Eniachim, seems to the learned Mr. Lowth, one well versed in Josephus, to be that, 1 Chron. xxiv. 12, "the course of Jakim," where some copies have "the course of Eliakim"; and I think this to be by no means an improbable conjecture.—W.

[2] Site unknown.

occupying the sanctuary, and at their rapine and murders, but had not yet begun to retaliate upon them (because they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these Zealots, as indeed it was), Ananus stood in the midst of them, and frequently gazing at the temple, with his eyes full of tears, spoke as follows. "Certainly it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full of so many abominations, or those sacred places that ought not to be trodden crowded by the feet of these blood-stained wretches. And yet I, who am clothed with the vestments of the high priest, and am called by that most venerable of august names, still live and am fond of life, and cannot endure to undergo a death which would be the glory of my old age. If indeed I were the only person concerned, and as it were in a desert, I would give up my life alone for God's sake. For to what purpose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for their present miseries? For when you are spoiled you bear it, when you are beaten you are silent, and when people are murdered, nobody dares even groan openly. O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I blame the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first banded together, for they were then but a few, and by your silence made them grow to be many, and by remaining quiet when they took up arms, turned them in effect against yourselves, when you ought to have prevented their first attempts, when they fell to abusing your relations? But by neglecting that you encouraged these wretches to plunder, and when houses were pillaged, nobody said a word. That was why they carried off the owners of those houses, and when they were dragged through the midst of the city, nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to outrage by bonds those whom you betrayed. I do not say how many they were, and what character they bore, but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none. And as nobody succoured them when they were put in bonds, the consequence was that you saw them slain. We looked on at this also, as if the best of a herd of brute animals was still being dragged to the sacrifice, nor did any-

body say one word, or move his right hand. Will you bear, then, will you bear to see your sanctuary trodden, and will you yourselves lay steps for these profane wretches to mount to still higher degrees of insolence? Are you not disgusted at their exaltation? Nay, they would have proceeded to still greater enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place in the whole city; you may call it the temple, if you please, though it is more like a citadel or fortress. Now, while you have so great a tyranny planted like a fort in your midst, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel, and what do you support your minds with? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places? Are matters then brought to that pass in our city, and are we come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? O most patient of mortals, will you not rise up, and turn upon those that strike you, which you may observe even wild beasts themselves do, will you not retaliate on those that smite you? Will you not call to mind the calamities every one of you have suffered, will you not set before your eyes the afflictions you have undergone, and will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge? Is then that most honourable and most natural of passions utterly dead in you, I mean the desire of liberty? And are we in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us, as if we had received the principle of subjection from our ancestors? Why, they went through many and great wars for the sake of liberty, nor were they so overcome by the power of the Egyptians or the Medes, as to disobey their own laws. But why need I speak of our forefathers? And what is the cause of our present war with the Romans? I waive now decision on the point whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not. Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Then, if we will not bear the lords of the world as lords over us, shall we bear tyrants of our own fellow-countrymen? And yet submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune has already doomed us to it, but submission to wicked people would argue unmanliness and choice. And since I have once mentioned the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that

comes into my mind as I am speaking, and turns my attention to them; it is this, that though we should be taken by them (God forbid the event should be so!), yet we can undergo nothing that will be harder to bear than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding tears, when we see the votive offerings of the Romans in our temple, while those of our own nation spoil us and plunder our glorious metropolis and slaughter our fellow-countrymen, enormities from which the Romans themselves would have abstained; and when we see those Romans never going beyond the limit assigned to profane persons, and never violating any of our sacred customs, nay, feeling a holy awe when they view at a distance our sacred precincts; while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, walk about in the midst of the holy places, when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their fellow-countrymen? Who therefore fears war from without, or people much milder by comparison than our own people? For truly, if we suit words fitly to the things they represent, it is probable one may find the Romans as much the supporters of our laws as those within our walls the enemies of them. And now I think that every one of you are absolutely persuaded that these plotters against our liberty deserve to be destroyed, and that no one could devise adequate punishment for what they have done, and that you are all exasperated, even before my words, by their wicked actions, from which you have suffered. But perhaps most of you are frightened at their numbers and audacity, as also at the advantage they have over us in their position. For as these things have been brought about by your carelessness, so will they become still greater by being any longer neglected; for their numbers are every day augmented, as every bad man deserts to those who are like himself, and their audacity is increased by their meeting with no opposition up to now; and as to their higher position, they will make use of it for engines also, if we give them time to do so. But be assured of this, that if we mount up to fight them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences, and the advantage they have in their high position will be counter-balanced by their moral sense. Perhaps also God himself, who has been

affronted by them, will turn what they hurl at us against themselves, and these impious wretches will be killed by their own missiles. Let us but only make our appearance before them, and they will be dejected. However, it is a noble thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates, and to expend our very lives, if not for the sake of our children and wives, yet for God's sake and for his sanctuary. I myself will assist you both with my counsel and with my hand; nor shall any device of mine be wanting for your support, nor shall you see me sparing of my body either."

§ 11. By these words Ananus encouraged the multitude to go at the Zealots, although he knew how difficult it would be to crush them, because of their numbers and youth and the courage of their souls, but chiefly because of their consciousness of the ill deeds they had done; for they would not be likely to yield in consequence of hoping for pardon at last for what they had done. However, Ananus preferred undergoing any suffering whatever to allowing things to continue in such disorder. And the multitude cried out to him to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation to them, and every one of them was most ready to run any hazard.

§ 12. Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and drawing up those that were fit for his purpose in battle array, the Zealots got wind of his intention (for there were some who went to them and told them all that the people were doing), and were irritated at it, and rushing out of the temple, some *en masse*, some in companies, spared none whom they met with. Upon this Ananus got the populace together quickly, who were more numerous indeed than the Zealots, but inferior to them in arms and also in organisation. But ardour supplied all that was wanting on both sides, the citizens being animated by a passion stronger than arms, and deriving a degree of courage from the temple superior to any numbers whatever, and indeed thinking the city uninhabitable, unless they could cut off the robbers that were in it; while the Zealots thought, unless they won the day, there would be no punishment that would not be inflicted on them. So both parties were led by their passions in the fight, and at first

they only cast stones at each other in the city and before the temple, and threw their javelins from a distance; but when either side gave way, the victorious one made use of their swords; and great slaughter was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded. As for any of the people that were wounded, their relations carried them into their own houses; but when any of the Zealots were wounded, they went up into the temple, and stained its sacred floor with their blood, so that one might say it was their blood alone that polluted the sanctuary. Now in these encounters the robbers sallied out and always got the best of it, till the populace grew very angry, and ever flocked up in greater numbers, and reproached those that gave way, and those behind would not give room to those that were retreating, but forced them back again, and so turned their whole force against their adversaries, and when the robbers could no longer stand against their vehemence, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple, Ananus and his party rushed into it with them. This threw the robbers into a panic, because it deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court quickly, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the others threw their stones and darts at them from above, but deemed it unlawful, even should he be victorious, to introduce the multitude before they were purified. He therefore chose out of them all by lot six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the porticoes; so there was a succession of such guards one after another, and every one was forced to mount guard in turn. But many of the chief men in the city were discharged from this duty by those that took on them the government, upon their hiring poorer persons and sending them to mount guard in their own stead.

§ 13. Now it was John, who as I said ran away from Gischala,[1] who was the cause of all these being destroyed. He was a man of great craftiness, and bore about in his soul a strong passion after tyranny, and had long plotted against the government. And at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinions, and went about with

[1] *el-Jish.*

Ananus, who consulted with the great men by day, and in the night-time went round the watch; but he divulged secrets to the Zealots, and every thing that the people intended to do was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon. And that he might not be brought into suspicion, he cunningly paid extravagant court to Ananus and the chiefs of the people; yet did this overacting of his turn against him, for he flattered them so immoderately that he was but the more suspected; and his constant presence everywhere, even when he was not invited, made him strongly suspected of betraying their secrets to the enemy. For they plainly perceived that the enemy knew of all the resolutions taken at their consultations, nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of revealing them as John. But it was not easy to get rid of him, so powerful had he grown by his wickedness, and besides that he was a remarkable man, was supported by many who were always consulted upon all considerable public affairs. It was therefore thought well to oblige him to give them assurance of his good-will upon oath. And John took oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or acts to their enemies, and would assist them in putting down those that attacked them both by his hand and advice. And Ananus and his party believed his oath, and now received him to their consultations without further suspicion; nay, they actually sent him as their ambassador to the Zealots with proposals of accommodation. For they were very desirous to avoid the pollution of the temple as much as they possibly could, and that no one of their nation should be slain in it.

§ 14. But now John, as if his oath had been made to the Zealots, and in good-will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and said that he had run many hazards on their account, to let them know of every thing that was planned against them by Ananus and his party; and that both he and they would now be all cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them. For Ananus (he added) would make no longer delay, but had prevailed upon the people to send ambassadors to

Vespasian, to invite him to come quickly and take the city; and that he had appointed a religious service for the next day against them, that his party might either enter the temple on the pretext of worship, or force their way in and fight with them there; and he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or how they could fight so many enemies. He added further, that it was by the providence of God, that he was himself sent as ambassador to them for an accommodation: for Ananus offered them these proposals, that he might attack them when they were unarmed; and they ought, to save their lives, either to supplicate those that besieged them, or to get some help from outside. For if they cherished the hope of pardon, in case they were subdued, they had forgotten what desperate acts they had done, or supposed, as soon as the actors repented, that those that had suffered by them were sure to be at once reconciled to them: whereas even the repentance of those that had done injuries was frequently hated, and when those who were wronged got the power into their hands, they were very severe. He said also that the friends and kindred of those who had been killed by them would always be lying in wait for them; and that a large body of people were very angry with them because of their having put down their laws and law-courts, so that if some commiserated them, they would be quite outvoted by the majority who were very incensed with them.

CHAP. IV.

The Idumæans being sent for by the Zealots, come immediately to Jerusalem, and are excluded from the City. Jesus, one of the High Priests, makes a Speech to them; and Simon the Idumæan makes a reply to it.

§ 1.

BY this crafty speech John made the Zealots afraid: and though he durst not directly state what help from outside he meant, he intimated the Idumæans. And that he

might also privately irritate the leaders of the Zealots, he calumniated Ananus as a savage person, and as having particularly threatened them. Their leaders were Eleazar (the son of Simon), who seemed the most reliable man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of the same, and Zacharias (the son of Phalek), both of whom were of priestly descent. Now when these two men had heard, not only of the common threats, but also of those peculiarly levelled against themselves; and also how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own power, had invited in the Romans (for that also was part of John's lie), they doubted a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of time by which they were pressed. For the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and the suddenness of the plot laid against them almost cut off all their hopes of getting any help from outside; for they might suffer everything before any of their allies could hear of it. However, it was resolved to invite in the Idumæans. So they wrote a short letter to them to the effect that Ananus had deceived the people, and intended to betray their metropolis to the Romans: that they themselves had revolted for liberty's sake and were besieged in the temple: that a short time would settle the question of their safety; for unless the Idumæans came quickly to their assistance, they would themselves soon be in the power of Ananus and their enemies, and the city would be in the hands of the Romans. They also charged the messengers to narrate generally the state of the case to the rulers of the Idumæans. Now two active men were proposed for the carrying of this message, men well able to speak, and to persuade the Idumæans as to the state of affairs, and what was a qualification still more necessary, they were very swift of foot. For they knew well enough that the Idumæans would immediately comply with their request, as they were a tumultuous and unsettled nation, always eager for disturbances and delighting in changes, and upon ever so little flattery on the part of petitioners ready to take up arms, and hastening to battle as if to a feast. There was indeed occasion for quick despatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers (who both had the

name of Ananias), were no way defective, and they soon arrived before the rulers of the Idumæans.

§ 2. Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them, so they ran about the nation like mad men, and made proclamation for war. And their population was mustered together sooner than the time appointed in the proclamation, and all snatched up arms as if to maintain the liberty of their metropolis; and twenty thousand of them marched in battle array to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John and Jacob, the sons[1] of Sosas, and besides these Simon the son of Cathlas, and Phineas the son of Clusoth.

§ 3. Now this departure of the messengers was not known either to Ananus or to the garrison, but the approach of the Idumæans was. And as Ananus knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them, but, before they came to blows, he wished to try what argument would do. So Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Ananus, stood upon the tower that was opposite the Idumæans, and spoke to them as follows. "Many and various troubles indeed have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have I so much as now wondered that fortune should in so extraordinary a manner play into the hands of wicked men. For I see that you are come to support the vilest of men against us, and that with such zeal as you could hardly exhibit if our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like those who invited you, I should not have deemed your impetuosity unreasonable: for nothing so much cements the minds of men together as similarity of manners. But as it is, if one were to examine these men who have invited you one by one, each one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths; for the very rascality and offscouring of the whole country, who have spent their own substance in debauchery, and exercised their violence on the

[1] Reading παισί. Itaque vertit Dindorfius.

neighbouring villages and cities, have at last stolen into this holy city; robbers, who by their prodigious wickedness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are now to be seen drinking themselves drunk fearlessly in the sanctuary, and expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their unsatiable bellies. Whereas for your numerous host, one can see that they are as decently adorned in their armour, as it would become them to be, had their metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this but the sport of fortune, when he sees a whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I have a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so quickly; because certainly you would not put on your armour on behalf of robbers, and against a people akin to you, without some very great cause for your so doing. But since we have heard something about the Romans and treason (for some of your men have lately made a clamour about these matters, and have said they are come to set this metropolis free), we wonder more at these wretches devising such a lie as this against us than at their other audacity. For they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that are naturally lovers of liberty, and so chiefly disposed to fight against foreign enemies, but by concocting the story that we were going to betray that so much loved liberty. But you ought to consider who they are that spread this calumny, and against whom, and to gather the truth not from false speeches, but from palpable facts. For what reason is there for us to sell ourselves now to the Romans, since it was in our power either not to have revolted from them at first, or, when we had once revolted, to have returned to their yoke again, before all the surrounding country was laid waste? Whereas it is no easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, even if we desire it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are thereby become proud and insolent; and to pay court to them now they are so near us, would bring reproach upon us worse than death. As for myself indeed, I should have preferred peace with them to death; but now I have once warred against them, and fought with them, I prefer glorious death to living in captivity. But

further, do they say that we, the rulers of the people, have sent privately to the Romans, or has it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be us, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent, as our servants, to negotiate this treason. Has any one been detected going out on this errand, or been taken as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could we escape the notice of so many of our fellow-citizens, among whom we live every hour; when what is done secretly in the country is, it seems, known by the Zealots, who are but few in number and besieged, and are not able to come out of the temple into the city? But now they know that they must be punished for their crimes; but as long as they were free from fear, none of us were suspected to be traitors. If, however, they lay this charge against the people generally, the decision must of course have been arrived at openly (for everybody is present[1] at a general assembly), so that public news of this matter would have come to you sooner than any private information. But how could that be? Would not ambassadors have been sent in that case to confirm the agreements? Let them tell us then who was voted for that purpose. But this is only a pretext of men who are loath to die, and are trying to escape the punishments that are at hand for them. For indeed if fate had determined that this city was to be betrayed, only these men that accuse us falsely would have had the impudence to do it, there being no wickedness wanting in them but treason only. And now that you Idumæans are actually come here with your arms, it is your duty to come to the rescue of our metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants who have infringed the rules of our regular tribunals, trampled upon our laws, and made their swords the arbiters of right and wrong. For they have seized men of great eminence lying under no accusation in the market-place, and further outraged them by putting them into bonds, and, refusing to hear what they had to say, or their supplications, put them to death. You may, if you please, come into the city, though not in the way of war, and see proofs of what I

[1] I read ἀποστατεῖ.

say, as houses stripped bare by their rapacious hands, and wives and families in black for their slaughtered relations, as also you may hear groaning and lamentation all over the city. For there is nobody who has not suffered from the attack of these profane wretches, who have proceeded to that degree of desperate recklessness, as not only to have transferred their robbing impudence from the country and the remote cities to this city, the very face and head of the whole nation, but also from this city to the temple. For that is now made their *point d'appui* and refuge, and base of operations against us. And this place, which is adored by the world, and honoured by strangers from the ends of the earth who know it by report, is trampled upon by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now triumph in the desperate condition of affairs, when they hear that one people is going to fight against another people, and one city against another city, and that our nation has got an army together against its own bowels. Instead of which the best and fit thing to do would be, as I said, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches, and to be revenged on them for putting this cheat upon you, I mean, for having the impudence to invite you in as allies, when they ought to have stood in fear of you as avengers. But if you have some regard to these men's invitation, you may yet lay aside your arms, and come into the city in the guise of kinsmen, and take upon you a middle name between that of allies and enemies, and so become judges in this case. And yet consider how much these men will gain by being called into judgment before you, after such undeniable and flagrant crimes, seeing that they would not allow such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let them get this favour from your coming. But if you will neither join in our indignation nor judge in the matter, the third thing is to let us both alone, and neither insult our calamities, nor remain with these plotters against our metropolis. For though you should have ever so great a suspicion that some of us have had dealings with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the approaches to the city; and if any thing that we have been accused of is brought home to us, you can then come and guard our

metropolis, and inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy cannot anticipate you as you are so near to the city. But if none of these proposals seem acceptable or moderate, do not wonder that the gates are shut against you, as long as you are in arms."

§ 4. Thus spoke Jesus, but the multitude of the Idumæans gave no attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also were indignant at the idea of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as tantamount to captivity to throw them down at any man's injunctions. But Simon, the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, quieted with some difficulty the tumult of his men, and stood where the high priests could hear him, and spoke as follows. "I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are besieged in the temple, since there are some who now shut the gates of a city common to the nation, and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it, nay, perhaps are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming, while they speak to the Idumæans from their towers, and enjoin them to throw down arms taken up for the preservation of liberty. And while they will not intrust the guard of the metropolis to their kinsmen, they propose to make them judges of the differences between them; nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without trial, they themselves would condemn a whole nation to dishonour; and have now walled off from their own kinsmen that city which used to be open to even all foreigners that came to worship there. It is a likely idea that we have hurried here to slaughter and war against our own countrymen, when we have only made such haste to keep you who are so unhappy free! You have doubtless been wronged in a similar way by those whom you besiege, and have, I suppose, made a list of the like plausible suspicions against them also! And then, after besieging all those inside the city who are interested in public affairs, and having also shut the gates of the city against a whole nation most nearly related to you, and after giving such insulting orders to others, you complain that you are yourselves tyrannized over, and attach the name of tyrants to those who are really tyrannized over

by you! Who can bear this assumption in words, who looks to the facts which are totally contrary, unless indeed the Idumæans are now excluding you from the metropolis, and not you yourselves excluding them from the national rites! One may indeed justly complain that those who are besieged in the temple, when they dared to punish those traitors whom (because they were your companions) you call eminent and unaccused men, did not begin with you, and so cut off beforehand the most dangerous traitors. But if they have been more merciful than they should have been, let us Idumæans watch over this house of God, and fight for our common country, and repel as enemies both those that attack us from without and those that betray us from within. Here will we stay before the walls in arms, till either the Romans grow weary of waiting for you, or till you change your behaviour and become friends to liberty."

§ 5. At these words all the Idumæans made acclamation. But Jesus went away sorrowful, as he saw that the Idumæans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was threatened with two wars. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumæans at rest, for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion from the city; and as they had thought the Zealots strong, but saw no support likely to come from them, they knew not what to think, and many repented that they had come. But the shame that would be theirs if they returned without doing any thing at all, so prevailed over their regret, that they stayed there all night before the wall, though in a very wretched bivouac. For a prodigious storm broke out in the night, and violent winds with very heavy showers of rain, and continuous lightning, and terrible thunderings, and extraordinary noises as of the earth shaken by an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was thus put out of joint, and any one would guess that these prodigies portended some great calamities.

§ 6. Now the opinion of the Idumæans and of those in the city was one and the same, for the Idumæans thought that God was angry at their expedition, and that they

would not escape punishment for taking up arms against the metropolis, while Ananus and his party thought that they had gained the day without fighting, and that God was on their side. But truly they proved ill conjecturers of what was to come, and prognosticated for their enemies what they were themselves to undergo. For the Idumæans formed in close order with their bodies and kept one another warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the Zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in than they were for themselves, and mustered together, and looked about to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The more rash of them thought it best to force their way through the garrison with their arms, and after that to rush into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those who had come to their assistance; for they supposed the garrison would be in disorder and give way at such an unexpected attack of theirs, especially as most of them were unarmed and unskilled in war, and also because the multitude of the citizens would not be easily got together, as they would be confined to their houses by the storm; and even if there were any danger, it became them to suffer anything whatever rather than to allow so great a multitude to perish miserably on their account. But the more prudent despaired of force, because they saw not only that the garrison round them was very numerous, but also that the walls of the city were carefully watched because of the Idumæans, and they also supposed that Ananus would be everywhere, and visit the garrison every hour; which indeed was done on other nights, but was omitted that night, not because of any remissness on the part of Ananus, but by the overruling appointment of fate, that so both he himself and the whole of the garrison might perish. For as the night was far spent, and the storm at its height, Ananus gave the garrison in the portico leave to go to sleep, and it came into the heads of the Zealots to take the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut through the bars of the gates. The noise of the wind and the continuous thunder played into their hands, so that the noise of the saws was not heard.

§ 7. So they secretly went out of the temple to the walls,

and made use of their saws, and opened the gate which was next the Idumæans. But at first there came a fear upon the Idumæans themselves, as they imagined that Ananus and his party were about to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword to defend himself; but they soon recognized who had come to them, and entered the city. And had the Idumæans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying every man of the people, such was the rage they were in; but, as it was, they first of all made haste to get the Zealots out of custody, which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to leave those for whose sakes they were come in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into still greater danger; for when they had once captured the garrison, it would be easy for them to enter the city; but if the city were first roused, they would not then be able to master the garrison, because as soon as they should perceive who they were there, they would put themselves in battle-array and would bar their approach.

CHAP. V.

The Cruelty of the Idumæans, when they got into the Temple during the Storm, and of the Zealots. Concerning the Slaughter of Ananus, and Jesus, and Zacharias. Also how the Idumæans returned home.

§ 1.

THIS advice pleased the Idumæans, and they ascended through the city to the temple, and the Zealots were impatient and anxious for their coming. Directly therefore they entered, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixed themselves with the Idumæans, and attacked the garrison. And they killed some of those that were on guard but had fallen asleep, but as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and in spite of their alarm caught hold of their arms and betook themselves to their defence. And as long as they

thought it was only the Zealots who attacked them, they felt confidence, hoping to overpower them by their numbers; but when they saw others pouring in upon them from without, they perceived that the Idumæans were got in; and most of them laid aside their arms and courage together, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the youths covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumæans, and for some time protected the more inert multitude. Others revealed to to those that were in the city the dreadful situation they were in by their cries: but when they got to know that the Idumæans had entered the city, none of them durst come to their assistance, only they loudly wailed and shrieked back, and great howling of the women took place also, and every one of the garrison was in danger. The Zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumæans; and the storm itself rendered the shouts of everybody more terrible. Nor did the Idumæans spare anybody, for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they used their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and treated in the same manner those that supplicated for their lives as those that fought them; and ran through many with their swords, who reminded them of the relation there was between them, and begged them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was no opportunity for flight, nor any hope of preservation, but as they were thrust against one another so were they slain, and as most were driven along (as there was now no place to retire to, and the murderers hotly pursued them) in their distress they threw themselves down headlong into the city, undergoing, in my opinion, a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because it was a voluntary one. And now all the outer temple overflowed with blood, and that day saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies.

§ 2. But the rage of the Idumæans was not satiated by these slaughters, but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met. As for the rest of the multitude, they esteemed it idle to go on killing them, but they sought for the high

priests, and most rushed against them, and as soon as they took them they slew them, and then, standing over their dead bodies, jeered at Ananus for his goodwill to the people, and at Jesus for his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews usually take so much care of the burial of people, that they take down and bury those that are condemned and crucified before the going down of the sun. I should not be wrong if I said that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of Jerusalem, and that from the day whereon they saw their high priest, and champion of their safety, slain in the midst of their city, may be dated the overthrow of their walls, and the fall of the Jews. He was in various respects a very worthy and just man, and besides the grandeur of the nobility and dignity and honour which he had, he was a lover of equality even in regard to the meanest of the people; and he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of democracy, and ever preferred the public welfare to his own advantage, and peace above all things (for he knew that the Romans were invincible), and he foresaw that, unless the Jews made up matters with them cleverly, a war would of necessity follow, and that they would be destroyed. And to say all in a word, if Ananus had survived, the Jews would certainly have come to terms with the Romans. For he was an able man in speaking and persuading the people, and if he had already got the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war, the Jews would have put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans under such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him, and although he was inferior to him upon comparison, he was superior to all the rest. And I cannot but think that it was because God had doomed the city to destruction as a polluted city, and wished to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these its great defenders and well-wishers, so that those that had a little before worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship, and had been esteemed worthy of respect by those who from the whole world visited our city, were cast out naked, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts.

And I cannot but think that virtue itself groaned at these men's cases, and lamented that she was so terribly conquered by wickedness. For such was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

§ 3. Now, after these were slain, the Zealots and the multitude of the Idumæans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats. As for the common people, they were slain wherever they were captured, but they arrested and bound the noblemen and the youths, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would come over to their party. But not one of them would comply, for all preferred death to being enrolled among wicked wretches against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments, for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies could no longer bear their torture, when at last with difficulty they got the favour to be slain. Those whom they captured in the daytime were slain in the night, and their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners. And the terror of the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for any dead man that was related to him, or to bury him; but those that were shut up in their own houses could only shed tears in secret, and dared not even groan without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them; for if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death as those whom they mourned for. Only by night they would take a little dust in their hands, and throw it upon their bodies, and here and there a very bold person would do so even in the day. And no less than twelve thousand noble youths perished in this manner.

§ 4. And now they were quite weary of simple butchery, so they set up fictitious tribunals and courts for that purpose; and as they intended to have Zacharias, the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, slain (for what provoked them against him was that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty which were so remarkable in him: he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they not only hoped to seize his effects, but also to get rid

of a man able to put them down), so they called together by public proclamation seventy of the principal men of the populace, nominally as judges, but they had no real authority, and accused Zacharias of a design to betray them to the Romans, and of having traitorously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or evidence of what he was accused of, but they affirmed that they were themselves quite satisfied of his guilt, and desired such affirmation to be taken as evidence sufficient. Now when Zacharias saw clearly that there was no hope left him of escape (for he had been treacherously summoned to prison, rather than a court of justice), he took great liberty of speech from his despair of life, and stood up and jeered at their specious accusation, and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and enumerated all their transgressions of the law, and made great lamentation over the confusion they had brought public affairs to. But the Zealots made an uproar, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they wished to preserve the appearance and farce of a trial to the end, and were also desirous to test the judges, whether they would consult the interests of justice at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict that the accused was not guilty, choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors; whereupon there arose a great clamour of the Zealots at his acquittal, and they were all indignant at the judges, for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but a farce; and two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him, and as he fell mocked at him and said, "Thou hast also our verdict, and a more sure acquittal;" and immediately threw him down from the temple into the ravine beneath it. Moreover, they insolently struck the judges with the backs of their swords, and thrust them out of the temple precincts, and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might let all know they were no better than slaves.

§ 5. But by this time the Idumæans repented that they had come, and were displeased at what was taking place. And

when they were assembled together by one of the Zealots, who came privately to them, he declared to them what a number of lawless acts they had done in conjunction with those that had invited them, and enumerated what had been done in the metropolis. He said that they had taken up arms on the idea that the high priests were betraying the metropolis to the Romans, but had found no evidence of any such treason, but they had supported those that pretended to believe such a thing, while they ventured to do their works of war and tyranny. It would indeed have been their business to have hindered them at first, but seeing they had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as as were subverting the laws of their forefathers. For if any took it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and that they had not been permitted to come into the city, yet those who had excluded them had been punished, and Ananus was dead, and almost all those people had been slain in one night. He added that many of themselves might now be seen repenting of what they had done, and they might also see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them, who had no regard to those who had saved them, but were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things under the eyes of their allies, and their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumæans, as long as nobody obstructed them, or separated himself from their actions. They ought thereto retire home (since the imputation of treason appeared to be a calumny, and there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at present, and the city was secured by such walls as could not be easily thrown down), and, by avoiding any further fellowship with these bad men, make some excuse for themselves as to their previous participation with them under a delusion.

CHAP. VI.

How the Zealots, when they got rid of the Idumæans, slew a great many more of the Citizens. Also how Vespasian dissuaded the Romans, when they were very earnest to march against the Jews, from proceeding in the War at present.

§ 1.

THE Idumæans listened to these arguments, and first set those that were in the prisons at liberty (who were about two thousand of the populace, who thereupon fled immediately and betook themselves to Simon, of whom I shall speak presently), and then retired from Jerusalem, and went home. Now this departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people, not knowing of their repentance, took courage for a while, as being eased of their enemies, while the Zealots grew more insolent, not as being deserted by allies, but as being rid of men who might put them out of countenance, and repress their wickedness. So they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their crimes, but made use of the shortest methods in all their plans, and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice almost sooner than they imagined it. But they thirsted chiefly for the blood of valiant men and men of good families, the latter of whom they destroyed out of envy, the former out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no influential person alive. And so among many others they slew Gorion, a person eminent for merit and family, and inclined to democracy, and full of a liberal spirit, if ever any of the Jews was. The principal thing that ruined him, added to his eminence in other respects, was his boldness of speech. Nor did Niger of Peræa escape their hands, a man who had displayed great valour in the wars with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city, frequently crying out and showing the scars of his wounds. And when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his life, he besought them to grant him burial; but they threatened him first that they would not grant him any

spot of earth for a grave, which he so greatly desired, and then slew him. Now while they were slaying him, Niger prayed that the Romans might be his avengers, and that the Jews might undergo both famine and pestilence in the war, and besides all that that they might come to mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God ratified against these impious men, and what came most justly upon them was that not long afterwards they experienced their madness in their factions against one another. But when Niger was killed, their fears of being put down were diminished. And indeed there was no section of the people but they found out some pretext to destroy them. Some were slain because they had had some longstanding differences with some of them, and as to those that had not opposed them in time of peace, they watched their opportunity to accuse them; and if any one did not come near them at all, he was suspected by them as a proud man, if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a despiser of them, and if any one paid court to them, he was supposed to be a plotter against them. And the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death; nor could any one escape, unless he was very inconsiderable from the meanness of his birth or fortune.

§ 2. And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans thought this dissension of their enemies a windfall, and were very eager to march against the city, and were urgent with Vespasian as he was armed with full authority, and said that the providence of God was on their side, by setting their enemies at variance with one another; but that changes in such cases were sudden, and the Jews might quickly be united again, either because they were tired or repented of their civil strife. But Vespasian replied, that they were greatly mistaken as to what was necessary, desiring as on a theatre to make a show of their hands and weapons, but doing so at their own hazard, without considering what was for their advantage and security. For if they attacked the city immediately, they would but unite their enemies together, and turn their strength now at its acme against themselves; but if they stayed a while, they would have fewer enemies, because they would be con-

sumed in this civil strife. For God made a better general of the Romans than he was, who was giving the Jews up to them without any trouble, and granting their army a victory without any danger. He said that it was therefore their best course, while their enemies were destroying each other with their own hands, and experiencing the greatest misfortune, which was civil strife, to sit still as spectators of dangers rather than to fight with men that loved murder and were mad against one another. "And if (he proceeded) any one imagines that the glory of victory will be more insipid when it is got without fighting, let him know that success quietly obtained is more profitable than the uncertainty of a battle. For we ought to esteem those who have done great things by self-control and prudence no less glorious than those who have gained great reputation by their actions in war. For such will have a stronger army to lead, when their enemies are weakened, and their own army is refreshed by rest from continual labours; moreover this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory. For the Jews are not now employed in forging armour or building walls, or in getting together allies, in which case delay would be prejudicial to those who gave them time for such, but they are harassed to death every day by their civil strife and dissensions, and suffer greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether therefore any one has regard to what is for our safety, he ought to suffer these Jews to be consumed by one another, or whether he has regard to the glory of success, he ought by no means to attack men who are suffering from domestic troubles. For it would be said speciously that our conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their dissensions."

§ 3. And now the other commanders assented to what Vespasian said, and it was soon evident how wise an opinion he had given. For many of the Jews deserted every day, and fled from the Zealots, although flight was difficult, since they guarded every outlet from the city, and slew every one that was captured at them, taking it for granted he was going over to the Romans. However, he who gave them money was allowed to go, and only he that gave them none was a traitor; so the upshot was that the rich pur-

chased their flight so, and none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay in heaps, and many of those that had been anxious to flee changed their minds and preferred rather to perish within the city; for the hope of burial made death in their own city appear of the two the less terrible to them. But these Zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, that they did not bestow burial either on those slain in the city or on the roads, but as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country and the laws of nature, at the same time that they ill-treated men they outraged the Deity also, and allowed dead bodies to rot in the sun. And the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any of their relations as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; so that he that granted the favour of a grave to another forthwith stood in need of a grave himself. And to say all in a word, no good emotion was so entirely lost among them during those unhappy times as mercy; for what ought to have excited pity irritated these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called those that had died before them happy, as being at rest already, and those that were under torture in the prisons declared that, upon comparison with themselves, those that lay unburied were happy. These men, therefore, trampled upon every ordinance of men, and laughed at the laws of God: and they mocked at the oracles of the prophets as the tricks of impostors. And yet these prophets foretold many things as to virtue and vice, which when these Zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of prophecies against their own country. For there was a certain very ancient prophecy of inspired men, that the city would be taken and the sanctuary burnt by right of war, when dissensions should break out and their own hands should pollute the temple of God. Now though these Zealots did not disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAP. VII.

How John tyrannized over the rest; and what Mischief the Zealots did at Masada. Also how Vespasian got possession of Gadara: and the actions that were performed by Placidus.

§ 1.

BY this time John began to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept merely the same honours that others had; and joining to himself by degrees some of the wickedest men of all, he detached them from their own faction. And as he ever disagreed with the opinions of others, and gave injunctions of his own in a rather imperious manner, it was evident he was setting up monarchical claims. Now some submitted to him out of fear, and others out of good-will (for he was clever at enticing men to him by delusion and deception), and many thought they would be safer themselves, if the crimes that they perpetrated should be referred to one person and not many. His activity also was so great, and that both in action and counsel, that he had not a few body-guards. But a large part of his antagonists left him; among whom envy had a good deal of influence, as people thought it monstrous to be in subjection to one who was formerly their equal. But the main reason that moved men against him was the dread of monarchy, for they could not hope easily to put an end to his power, if he once obtained it, and they knew he would always have this objection against them, that they had opposed his having power. So each one chose rather to suffer anything whatever in war than, when they had been in voluntary slavery for some time, afterwards to perish like slaves. So the faction was divided into two parts, and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them. And these two factions watched one another, nor did they at all, or at least very little, meddle with arms in their quarrels; but they fought earnestly against the people, and vied with one another which should get most spoil. And since the city was exposed to three of the greatest misfortunes, war, and tyranny, and faction, it appeared to the

people upon comparison that war was the lightest of the three. Accordingly, they fled from their own people to foreigners, and sought that preservation from the Romans, which they despaired of obtaining among their own people.

§ 2. And now a fourth misfortune arose to bring our nation to destruction. There was a very strong fortress not far from Jerusalem, which had been built by our ancient kings, both as a repository for their effects in the hazards of war, and for their personal safety. It was called Masada.[1] Those who were called Sicarii had occupied it, and for a time scoured the country all round it, but only to procure themselves necessaries, for the fear they were in prevented further ravages; but when they heard that the Roman army was quiet, and that the Jews were divided by faction and private tyranny, they boldy undertook greater matters; and at the feast of Unleavened Bread (which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers) they made a descent by night, without being discovered by those who might have stopped them, and ravaged a certain small town called Engaddi, where they were too quick for those inhabitants that might have repelled them, for they dispersed them before they could arm themselves and fight them, and drove them out of the town, while of such as could not run away, as women and children, they slew more than seven hundred, and then stripped their houses of every thing, and seized upon all the ripe fruit, and took all their spoil home to Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages waste that were round the fortress, and ravaged the whole country, and slew daily on all sides of them no few people. At this time all the other regions of Judæa were disturbed by the robbers who had hitherto been quiet. Now as in the body, if some principal part be inflamed, all the members suffer with it, so owing to the faction and disorder that was in the metropolis, the wicked men that were in the country had security to ravage, and when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desert: and now banding together and joining the

[1] *Sebbeh.* Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.

confederacy by companies, too small for an army, and too many for a gang of thieves, they fell upon the holy places [1] and cities. But it happened that they were sometimes very ill handled by those whom they attacked in war, thinking them isolated, but sometimes they anticipated retaliation, as robbers directly they have done their plundering run away. Nor was there now any part of Judæa that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city.

§ 3. These things were told Vespasian by deserters. For although the factious watched all the outlets of the city, and slew whoever approached for whatever purpose, yet there were some who evaded them and fled to the Romans, and urged the Roman general to come to their city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; for they said that it was because of the people's good-will to the Romans that many of them had been already slain, and that the survivors were in danger of the same treatment. And Vespasian, who already pitied the calamities these men were in, moved his camp to all appearance as if he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from the siege they were already enduring. However, he was obliged first to overthrow what remained elsewhere, and to leave nothing in his rear to interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly, he marched against Gadara,[2] the strong metropolis of Peræa, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus. For its influential persons had sent an embassage to him, without the knowledge of the factious, to treat about a surrender, which they did out of the desire they had for peace, and to save their property, for many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. The opposite party knew nothing of this embassage, but discovered it as Vespasian drew near the city. And they despaired of being able to keep possession of the city, as they were inferior in number to their enemies who were within the city, and as

[1] By these *hiera* or "holy places," as distinct from cities, must be meant "proseuchæ," or "houses of prayer," out of cities; of which we find mention made in the New Testament and elsewhere. See Luke vi. 12; Acts xvi. 13, 16; Antiq. xiv. 10, § 23; Life, § 54. "In qua te quæro proseucha?" Juvenal Sat. iii. 296. They were situated sometimes by the side of rivers, or by the sea side.—W.

[2] *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

they saw the Romans very near the city; so they resolved to flee, but thought it dishonourable to do so without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on those who had invited in Vespasian. So they seized upon Dolesus (a person not only the first in rank and family in the city, but also the one who was thought responsible for the embassage to Vespasian), and slew him, and treated his dead body in a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him, and then fled from the city. And as the Roman army was now just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, and also a garrison of horse and foot to guard them against the incursions of the fugitives: for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them to do so, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and had no mind to war against them.

§ 4. And now Vespasian sent Placidus with five hundred horse and three thousand foot to pursue those that had fled from Gadara, while he himself returned to Cæsarea[1] with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw the cavalry pursuing them, before an engagement came off, they crowded together in a certain village, which was called Bethennabris,[2] where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, some by their own consent, some by force, they rashly rushed upon Placidus and the troops that were with him. And they at the first onset gave way a little, so contriving to entice them further from the walls. And when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they rode round them, and threw their darts at them, and the horse cut off the flight of the fugitives, while the foot cut to pieces those that fought against them. For the Jews did no more than show their courage, and were then cut to pieces. For as they attacked the Romans, who were in close formation, and, as it were, walled in by their panoply, they could not find any place where their darts could penetrate, nor were they able to break the

[1] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisarîyeh*.

[2] Probably Beth-nimrah, now *Tell Nimrîn*, east of Jordan, and nearly opposite Jericho.

enemy's ranks, while they themselves were run through by the Roman darts, and, like the wildest of beasts, rushed upon the sword. And some of them were slain by being stabbed by their enemies' swords in their faces, and others were dispersed by the cavalry.

§ 5. For Placidus was anxious to cut off their return to the village, and riding continually on that side by them, he would then wheel round and at the same time make use of his darts, and take sure aim at those that were nearest, and make those that were further off turn back from the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them cut their way through and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them, and yet if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them; as indeed happened; for as they were forcing their way together to the wall, the Roman horsemen all but entered in with them. However, the guards prevented them and shut the gates, when Placidus ordered a general assault, and fighting stoutly till it was evening, made himself master of the wall and of those that were in the village; when the feeble part of the population was cut to pieces, but those that were more able ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that escaped from the village, they excited such as were in the country, and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, put them in great fear on every side. So they all got together *en masse* and fled to Jericho,[1] for it alone afforded them any hopes of safety, as it was a city that was strong from its wall and large population. But Placidus, relying upon his horse and former success, followed them, and slew all that he came up with as far as the Jordan: and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the stream (for it was swollen by rain and not fordable), he drew up his soldiers in battle array opposite to

[1] *er-Rîha.* Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

them. And necessity induced those who had no place to flee to to hazard a battle. So they extended themselves as much as possible along the banks of the river, and received the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the charges of the cavalry, who wounded many of them and thrust them into the stream. In this hand to hand fight fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into the Jordan was countless. Two thousand two hundred were also taken prisoners, besides immense spoil consisting of asses and sheep and camels and oxen.

§ 6. Now this blow that fell upon the Jews was not inferior to any of the rest, but appeared greater than it really was, because not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and the Jordan could not be crossed over because of the dead bodies that were in it, but also because the lake Asphaltitis[1] was full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now Placidus, making the most of his good fortune, marched against the neighbouring small towns and villages, and took Abila,[2] and Julias,[3] and Besimoth,[4] and all the others as far as the lake Asphaltitis, and put such deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board ships, and slew those who had fled on to the lake. So all Peræa either surrendered or was taken by the Romans as far as Machærus.[5]

[1] The *Dead Sea.*
[2] Probably *Keferein.* Antiq. iv. 8, § 1; v. 1, § 1.
[3] *Betharampha.* Jewish War, ii. 4, § 2.
[4] Beth-Jeshimoth, *'Ain Suweimeh.*
[5] *Mekaur.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.

CHAP. VIII.

How Vespasian, upon hearing of Commotion in Gaul, made haste to finish the Jewish War. A Description of Jericho, and of the Great Plain; with an Account also of the Lake Asphaltitis.

§ 1.

MEANTIME news came of commotion in Gaul,[1] and that Vindex with the influential persons of that country had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This news excited Vespasian to go on briskly with the war, for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming, nay, he saw that the very empire was in danger, and he thought, if he could first reduce its eastern parts to peace, he should make the anxiety less about Italy. As long therefore as the winter continued, he put garrisons for their security into the villages and small towns which he had subdued, and put decurions into the villages, and centurions into the cities; he also rebuilt many places that had been laid waste. But at the beginning of spring he took most of his army, and led it from Cæsarea[2] to Antipatris,[3] where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and on the third day marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had subdued all the places in the toparchy of Thamna,[4] he marched on to Lydda[5] and Jamnia.[6] And when both those cities had been subdued first, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places] as inhabitants therein, and then went to Emmaus,[7] where he seized upon the passes which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and, leaving the fifth legion there, went on to the toparchy of Bethleptepha.[8] He then destroyed it and the

[1] France.
[2] *Kaisarîyeh.*
[3] *Râs el-'Ain.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 7.
[4] Thamna, *Tibneh.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 4.
[5] *Ludd.*
[6] *Yebnah.*
[7] *'Amwâs.* Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.
[8] Unknown, but apparently south of Jerusalem.

neighbouring region by fire, and fortified at convenient places the strongholds all about Idumæa;[1] and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumæa, Betaris[2] and Caphartoba,[3] he slew more than ten thousand, and carried into captivity more than a thousand, and expelled the rest of the population, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who over-ran and laid waste the whole of the mountainous country; while he himself with the rest of his forces returned to Emmaus, whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and near the city called by others Neapolis,[4] but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Corea,[5] where he pitched his camp on the second day of the month Dæsius, and on the following day he arrived at Jericho, on which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought from Peræa,[6] as all the places beyond the Jordan were already subdued.

§ 2. Now most of the people of Jericho anticipated the approach of the Romans, and fled to the mountainous region over against Jerusalem, while no few of those who were left behind were slain. So they found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain, but a naked and barren mountain of very great length overhangs it, which extends northwards to the land about Scythopolis,[7] and southwards as far as the country of Sodom and the boundaries of the lake Asphaltitis. This mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited because of its barrenness; and there is a mountain situated opposite it near the Jordan, which begins at Julias[8] and the northern region, and extends southwards as far as Somorrhon,[9] which is the boundary of Petra[10] in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that extends as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between these two mountains is called the Great Plain;[11] it extends from the

[1] Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.
[2] An unknown town.
[3] Unknown.
[4] Shechem, *Nâblus*.
[5] *Kerîût*. Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.
[6] Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.
[7] *Beisân*.
[8] Apparently Bethsaida Julias. Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.
[9] Unknown. Possibly for Gomorrha.
[10] Jewish War, i. 6, § 2.
[11] The *Ghor* or Jordan Valley.

village of Ginnabris[1] to the lake Asphaltitis; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty, and it is bisected by the Jordan. It has two lakes in it, that of Asphaltitis and that of Tiberias,[2] whose natures are opposite to each other; for the former is salt and unfruitful, but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer-time, and because of the extraordinary heat has a very pestilential air; it is entirely destitute of water excepting the river Jordan, which water of the Jordan is the reason why those plantations of palm-trees that are near its banks are more flourishing and fruitful, as those that are remote from it are less so.

§ 3. However, there is a fountain near Jericho,[3] that is copious and very fit for watering the ground; it bubbles up near the old city, which Joshua, the son of Nun, the general of the Hebrews, first took in the land of Canaan by his spear. The story goes that this fountain originally caused not only the blasting of the fruit of the earth and trees, but also made women miscarry, and was injurious and pernicious to all things, but that it was made mild on the contrary and very wholesome and fruitful by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was intimate with Elijah and his successor, and when he was once the guest of the people of Jericho, and the men of that city had treated him very kindly, he requited them and benefited their country by an everlasting favour. For he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the water an earthen vessel full of salt, after which he stretched out his righteous right hand to heaven, and pouring into the fountain propitiatory libations, he prayed that the water might be mollified, and that veins of sweet water might be opened; also that God would temper the water with more fertile air, and would bestow upon the people of the country plenty of the fruits of the earth, and a succession of children, and that this prolific water might never fail them while they continued to be righteous. To these prayers Elisha joined proper operations of his hands in a

[1] Apparently Sennabris. Jewish War, iii. 9, § 7.
[2] The *Dead Sea* and the Sea of Galilee.
[3] The spring *'Ain es-Sûltân*.

skilful manner, and changed the fountain, and the water, which had been the cause of barrenness and famine before, did from that time supply a numerous posterity, and afford great abundance to the country. Indeed, the power of it is so great in watering the ground, that if it does but once touch the land, it gives greater returns than other waters do, though they remain on the ground to satiety: so the advantage gained from other waters flowing in great plenty is but small, while that of this water is great, when it flows even in little quantities. And it waters a larger space of ground than the other waters do, for it glides through a plain seventy furlongs long and twenty broad, and affords nourishment to most excellent and frequent gardens. There are also many sorts of palm-trees watered by it, differing from each other in taste and name; the richer sort of which, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior to other honey; and the region abounds with bees. It also produces that balsam which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place, and the cypress tree and the myrobalanus; so that he would not be mistaken who should pronounce this place to be divine, wherein such plenty of very rare and most excellent trees are produced. And, indeed, if we speak of other fruits, it will not be easy to light on any climate in the world that can well be compared to this, for whatever is here sowed comes up with such wonderful returns; the cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air, and the fertility of the waters: the warmth calling forth and diffusing what is planted, and the moisture making every thing planted take root firmly, and supplying it with strength in summer-time. For this country is then so burnt up, that nobody can easily go into the open air. But if the water be drawn before sun-rise, and is after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceedingly cold, and has a nature quite contrary to the surrounding air; as in winter again it becomes warm, and to those who bathe in it appears very mild. The air here is also so well-tempered, that the people of the country dress in linen only, even when it snows in the rest of Judæa. Jericho[1] is one hundred

[1] *er-Riha.*

and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from the Jordan. The country as far as Jerusalem is desert and stony, but that as far as the Jordan and the lake Asphaltitis is more level, though equally desert and barren. But thus much shall suffice to say about Jericho and its great fertility.

§ 4. The nature of the lake Asphaltitis[1] is also worth describing. It is, as I have said, bitter and unfruitful, and so light that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it, nor is it easy for any one to make things sink to the bottom of it, if he tries to do so. For example, when Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some who could not swim should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into its depths, when it happened that they all floated on the top as if a wind forced them upwards. Moreover, the change of colour in this lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance thrice every day, and its light is variously reflected according to the rays of the sun. And it casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it, which float on the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and size headless bulls. And when the labourers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it as it is in a composite mass, they drag it into their boats; but when the boats are full, it is not easy to detach it, for it is so tenacious as to make the boat adhere to its mass, till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women and urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the caulking of ships, but also for the cure of men's bodies, so it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, as it extends as far as Zoar[2] in Arabia, and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom borders upon it, which was of old a happy land, both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it is now all burnt up. They say that it was burnt by lightning for the impiety of its inhabitants. And there are still vestiges of that divine

[1] The *Dead Sea*.

[2] This Zoar, which cannot be the same place as the Zoar of the Bible, was probably in the *Wâdy ed-Dra'a*, at the south-east end of the Dead Sea.

fire, and the traces of five cities are still to be seen, as also ashes growing on the fruits, which fruits look as if they were fit to eat, but if people pluck them with their hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related about the land of Sodom is borne out by our eyesight.

CHAP. IX.

How Vespasian, after he had taken Gadara, made Preparations for the Siege of Jerusalem; and how he changed his Intention on hearing of the Death of Nero. Also concerning Simon of Gerasa.

§ 1.

AND now Vespasian invested Jerusalem on all sides, and erected fortresses at Jericho and Adida,[1] and placed garrisons in them both, partly consisting of Romans, and partly of a body of auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa,[2] and delivered to him a troop of horse and a considerable number of foot. And when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who could not get away first, and he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages. And the able bodied fled away while the weak were slain, and everything that was left was burnt. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were prevented from leaving the city. For such as had a mind to desert were watched by the Zealots; and such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, were kept in by their army, which surrounded the city on all sides.

§ 2. Now when Vespasian had returned to Cæsarea,[3] and was getting ready to march with all his army upon Jerusalem itself, he was informed that Nero was dead, after

[1] *Haditheh*, near the foot of the hills east of Lydda. Antiq. xiii. 6, § 4; 15, § 2.

[2] *Jerash.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8. [3] *Kaisariyeh.*

having reigned thirteen years and eight days. As to how Nero abused his imperial power, and committed the management of affairs to those vile wretches Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freedmen; and how he was plotted against by them, and deserted by all his guards, and fled with four of his most trusty freedmen, and slew himself in the suburbs of Rome; and how those who brought about his death were in no long time themselves brought to punishment; how also the war in Gaul ended, and how Galba was made emperor, and returned from Spain to Rome, and how he was accused by the soldiers of being a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery in the middle of the forum at Rome; and how Otho was declared emperor, and of his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and overthrow; as also what troubles there were under Vitellius, and of the fight near the Capitol; as also how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius and his German legions, and so put an end to the civil war; I have omitted to give an exact account of all this, because it would be tedious to everybody, and has been related by a great number of Greeks and Romans. Yet, for the sake of the connexion of matters, and that my history may not be incomplete, I have just touched upon each of these things briefly. So Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting to see to whom the empire would be transferred after Nero. Again, when he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing till he also should send him some directions about the war; but he sent his son Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his commands as to the Jews. King Agrippa sailed with Titus upon the very same errand to Galba; but as they were in their long ships coasting by Achaia[1] (for it was winter-time) Galba was slain before they could get to him, after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After him Otho became emperor, and assumed the management of public affairs. And Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome, without any fear on account of the change in the government; but Titus by a divine impulse sailed back from Greece to Syria, and

[1] The Roman province, Greece.

went in great haste to Cæsarea to his father. And now both Vespasian and he were in suspense about the state of affairs, the Roman empire being now in an unstable condition, and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews, for they thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, because of the anxiety they were in as to their own country.

§ 3. And now there arose another war in Jerusalem. There was one Simon, the son of Gioras, a young man, and native of Gerasa (not so cunning indeed as John [of Gischala],[1] who had already seized upon the city, but superior to him in strength of body and courage, on which account he had been expelled by Ananus the high priest from the toparchy of Acrabatta,[2] which he once held, and joined those robbers who had seized upon Masada).[3] At first they suspected him, and only permitted him and the women he brought with him to enter the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. But afterwards (on account of his similarity of character to them, and because he seemed trusty), he went out with them, and ravaged and devastated the country in the neighbourhood of Masada; but when he urged them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail upon them to do so. For, as they were accustomed to dwell in that fortress, they were afraid of going far from what was as it were their lair, but he, desiring to play the monarch, and being ambitious, when he heard of the death of Ananus, left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country, and proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and rewards to those already free, and got together a band of bad men from all quarters.

§ 4. And as he had now a strong body of men, he overran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and as still more and more flocked to him, he ventured to descend to the plain. And, since he was now become formidable to the cities, many influential persons were attracted to him by his strength and success, so that his army was no longer composed only of slaves and robbers, but also of

[1] *el-Jish.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.
[2] *Akrabeh.* Jewish War, ii. 12, § 4.
[3] *Sebbeh.*

a great many of the populace, who were obedient to him as to their king. He then over-ran the toparchy of Acrabatta, and the district as far as the Great Idumæa. And he walled a certain village called Nain,[1] and made use of it as a fortress for his security; and at the ravine called Pharan[2] he widened many of the caves, and many others he found fit for his purpose, and these he used as repositories for his treasures and receptacles for his spoil, and in them he laid up the fruits that he got by rapine; and many of his bands dwelt in them; and he made no secret that he was training his men beforehand, and making preparations to attack Jerusalem.

§ 5. Thereupon most of the Zealots, fearing his plots, and wishing to nip in the bud one that was growing strong to their hurt, went out against him with their weapons. And Simon met them, and joined battle with them, and slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not trust his forces so much yet as to make an assault upon the walls, so he resolved first to subdue Idumæa, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched with them to the borders of that country. Thereupon the rulers of the Idumæans concentrated quickly the most warlike part of their people, amounting to about twenty-five thousand in number, and left the rest to guard their own country, because of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada, and received Simon at their borders, where he fought them, and continued the battle all that day, and left the field after a drawn contest. And he went back to Nain, and the Idumæans returned home. But it was not long ere Simon burst into their country again with a larger force, when he pitched his camp at a certain village called Thecoe,[3] and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to the garrison at Herodium,[4] which was near, to try and persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, as long as they knew not what he came about; but when he began to speak of

[1] An unknown town, apparently in Edom.
[2] Probably *Feiran*, in the Peninsula of Sinai.
[3] Tekoa, *Tekû'a*, south of Bethlehem.
[4] *Jebel Fureidis*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

the surrender of the place, they pursued him with their drawn swords, till finding he had no chance of escape, he threw himself down from the walls into the ravine below, and so died immediately. But the Idumæans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought it well to reconnoitre the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle.

§ 6. Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon this occasion, but intended to betray them. He set out therefore from the village Alurus,[1] where the army of the Idumæans was concentrated, and went to Simon; and first agreed to betray Alurus to him, and took assurances upon oath from him that he would always hold him in esteem, and next promised to assist him in subduing all Idumæa. Upon this he was feasted in a friendly manner by Simon, and being elated by his handsome promises, when he returned to his own men, he first stated falsely that the army of Simon was much larger than it really was; after which he addressed and urged the commanders, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender to him the whole government without fighting. And as he was negotiating this, he invited Simon by messengers, and promised to disperse the Idumæans, which he also did. For as soon as Simon's army drew near, he first mounted his horse, and fled with those whom he had corrupted. Thereupon a panic seized on the whole multitude, and before an engagement came on, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

§ 7. Thus unexpectedly did Simon march into Idumæa without bloodshed, and first made a sudden attack upon the city of Hebron, and captured it, and got possession of a great deal of spoil in it, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now its inhabitants say that Hebron is a more ancient city, not only than any in that country, but than Memphis[2] in Egypt, and reckon it to be two thousand three hundred years old. They also relate that it was the habitation of Abraham, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed from Mesopotamia, and they say that his

[1] Unknown.

[2] Jewish War, i. 9, § 4.

posterity went down from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very day shown in that small city, wrought of very excellent marble in a most elegant manner. There is also shown there at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large turpentine tree, and they say that this tree has lasted from the creation of the world to now. From thence Simon marched through all Idumæa, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but laid the whole country waste. For, besides his men at arms, he had forty thousand men that followed him, so that he had not provisions enough for such a multitude. And, besides this want of provisions, he was of a savage disposition, and very angry at this nation, so it came to pass that Idumæa was greatly devastated. For, as one may see all the woods despoiled of their leaves by locusts after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert. Some places they burnt down, some they utterly demolished; and whatever grew in the country they either trod it down or fed upon it, and by their marches they made cultivated ground harder than that which was barren. In short there was no indication remaining that those places that had been laid waste had ever existed.

§ 8. This success of Simon excited the Zealots afresh, and though they were afraid to fight him in open battle, they laid ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, and a considerable number of her attendants; whereupon they returned to the city rejoicing as if they had taken Simon himself captive, and almost expected that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife. But instead of feeling merciful, he was very angry with them for seizing his wife; so he went to the wall of Jerusalem, and, like wild beasts when they are wounded, and cannot get at those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons he met with. Accordingly he seized all those who came out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed and in years, and tortured them and slew them, so immense was his rage, and all but tasted the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of many, and sent them into the city to dismay his enemies, and at the same time

to try and make the people rise against those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people, that Simon swore by God, the ruler of the universe, that unless they quickly restored him his wife, he would break down their wall, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age, and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threats so greatly frightened, not the people only, but the Zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him, when he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual slaughtering.

§ 9. And now faction and civil war was rampant not only throughout Judæa, but also in Italy. For Galba was slain in the middle of the forum at Rome, and Otho was declared Emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for Emperor also, for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle at Bedriacum[1] in Gaul to Valens and Cæcinna, who were Vitellius' generals, Otho gained the advantage on the first day, but on the second day Vitellius' soldiers had the victory: and when Otho heard of this defeat after much slaughter, he slew himself at Brixellum,[2] after he had been at the head of affairs three months and two days. Otho's army also went over to Vitellius' generals, and Vitellius himself marched for Rome with his army. Meantime Vespasian removed from Cæsarea[3] on the fifth day of the month Dæsius, and marched against those places in Judæa which were not yet overthrown. So he went up into the mountainous country, and took those toparchies that were called the Gophnitic and Acrabattene toparchies,[4] after which he took Bethela[5] and Ephraim,[6] two small cities, and, when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, taking many prisoners, and slaying many on his march. And Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horse and foot, and laid waste that part of

[1] A small village of Cisalpine Gaul, between Verona and Cremona.
[2] *Brescello*, about twelve miles north-east of Parma.
[3] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisarîyeh*.
[4] The toparchies of which Gophna, *Jifna*, and Acrabatta, *'Akrâbeh*, were the chief towns.
[5] Bethel, *Beitîn*.
[6] *et-Taiyibeh*.

Idumæa which was called Upper Idumæa, and took Caphethra,[1] which pretended to be a small town, at the first onset and burnt it down. He also attacked another place called Capharabin,[1] and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall, and he expected to have to spend a long time in the siege, when those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had reduced them he went to Hebron, another very ancient city, situated, as I have said already, in the mountainous country not far from Jerusalem; and when he had broken into the city by force, he slew all that he captured therein from the youths upwards, and burnt down the city. So as all fortified places were now taken, excepting Herodium[2] and Masada[3] and Machærus,[4] which were in the possession of the robbers, Jerusalem was the mark at which the Romans henceforth aimed.

§ 10. And now, as soon as Simon had recovered his wife from the Zealots, he returned back to what remained of Idumæa, and, harassing the nation on all sides, compelled a great number of them to flee to Jerusalem; and followed them himself also to the city, and surrounded the wall again, and when he lit upon any labourers that were coming there out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon without was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, and the Zealots within were more trouble to them than either. And during this time mischievous contrivances and audacity corrupted the army of the Galilæans; for they had advanced John to power, and he made them returns from the authority he had obtained by their means, permitting them to do everything that any of them desired to do. And their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich, and murdering men and ravishing women was sport to them. They also devoured the spoil they took with blood, and indulged themselves to the full in sodomitical practices with impunity, arranging their hair and putting on women's garments, and smeared all over with perfume,

[1] Unknown.
[2] *Jebel Fureidis.* Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.
[3] *Sebbeh.* Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.
[4] *Mekaur.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.

and that they might appear more comely, painting their eye-lashes. And they imitated not only the attire, but also the lusts of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they contrived unlawful pleasures; and wallowed in the city as in a brothel, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions. And though their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands, and though their gait was effeminate, they suddenly attacked people and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and stabbed every body through whom they met. And Simon was on the look out for those that fled from John, and was the more bloody of the two: and he who had escaped the tyrant within the walls, was slain by the one before the gates, so that all chance of fleeing and deserting to the Romans was cut off, if any had a mind to do so.

§ 11. But the army that was under John rose against him, and all the Idumæans in it separated themselves from him, and plotted against the tyrant, out of envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty. And they fought and slew many of the Zealots, and drove the rest before them into the royal palace that was built by Grapte (who was a relation of Izates, the king of Adiabene),[1] and the Idumæans rushed in with them, and drove the Zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plundering John's effects; for he himself dwelt in the forementioned palace, and had laid up there the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. Meantime the multitude of the Zealots that were dispersed all over the city gathered together to the temple to those that had fled there, and John prepared to lead them out against the people and the Idumæans. And they were not so much afraid of being attacked by them, because they were themselves better soldiers, as at their desperation, lest they should privately sally out of the temple by night, and not only destroy them but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together with the high priests, and took counsel how they should guard against their assault. And God it seems turned their opinions to bad advice, and they devised a remedy

[1] Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

for their safety worse than ruin. For in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon, and to supplicate for the introduction of a second tyrant among them. This was the resolution of the council. So they sent Matthias the high priest, and besought this Simon, of whom they had been so greatly afraid, to enter their city. Those also from Jerusalem who had fled from the Zealots joined in this request to him, from the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. And he in an arrogant manner granted them his lordly protection, and entered the city as if to deliver it from the Zealots, being hailed with acclamations by the people as their saviour and preserver: but when he was come in with his army, he took care to secure his own authority, and looked upon those who had invited him in as no less his enemies than those against whom he had been invited in.

§ 12. Thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month of Xanthicus; whereupon John and his crowd of Zealots, being not only prevented from coming out of the temple, but also having lost their property in the city, (for Simon and his party robbed them at once of what they had,) were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people, while the Zealots stood upon the porticoes and battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell, and many were carried off wounded; for the Zealots threw their darts easily from the higher ground, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies. And having the advantage of situation, they further erected four very large towers, that their darts might come from still higher places, one at the north-east corner, another above the Xystus,[1] the third at another corner opposite the lower city, and the last was erected above the top of the Pastophoria, where one of the priests usually stood and gave a signal beforehand in the evening with a trumpet at the beginning of every seventh day, as also in the evening when the sabbath day was finished, giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they

[1] The Xystus was parallel to the west wall of the Temple, between the 'Causeway' and 'Robinson's Arch.'

were to go to work again.[1] They also set upon those towers engines to cast darts and stones, and archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assaults upon the temple less energetically, because most of his men were weary, yet he held out because his army was superior in numbers; but the missiles which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of the fighting men.

CHAP. X.

How the Soldiers, both in Judæa and Egypt, proclaimed Vespasian Emperor, who released Josephus from his Bonds.

§ 1.

NOW about this very time heavy calamities came on Rome. For Vitellius arrived from Germany with his soldiers, and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides, and as the spaces allotted for the soldiers could not contain him and his following, he made all Rome itself his camp, and filled every house with armed men. And they, when they saw the riches of Rome with eyes which had never seen such riches before, and had the glitter all round them of silver and gold, had much ado to contain their covetous desires, so as not to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as opposed them. Such was the state of affairs in Italy at this time.

§ 2. Now when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near Jerusalem, he returned to Cæsarea,[2] and there heard of the troubles at Rome, and that Vitellus was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how to be governed as well as to govern, for he thought him unworthy of being his lord who so madly seized upon the empire as if it were going a begging, and as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torment he felt, nor to apply himself to other wars, when

[1] The Sabbath began on the evening of Friday, and ended on the evening of Saturday.

[2] *Kaisartyeh.*

his native country was being laid waste. But as much as his passion excited him to vengeance, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance from home; because fortune might anticipate him and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea to Italy, especially as it was still the winter season, so he restrained his anger, though vehement, for the time.

§ 3. But now his commanders and soldiers met in companies, and consulted openly about a change, and cried out in their indignation that the soldiers at Rome lived delicately, and though they did not venture so much as to hear the fame of war, voted whom they pleased as rulers, and in hopes of gain made them emperors; while they themselves who had gone through so many labours, and grown old under their helmets, gave away their power to others, and that though they had among themselves one more worthy to rule. And what juster opportunity would they ever have of requiting their general, if they did not seize that now before them? and there was as much juster reason for Vespasian being emperor than Vitellius, as they were themselves more deserving than those who had declared the other emperor. For they had undergone as great wars as had the troops that came from Germany, nor were they inferior in arms to those who brought that tyrant to Rome. Nor was there any need for a contest: for surely neither the Roman senate nor people would put up with such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius, instead of the chaste Vespasian; nor would they endure a most barbarous tyrant instead of a good governor, nor choose one that was childless to rule over them instead of one that was a father; because the advancement of their own sons to dignities was certainly the greatest security for peace that kings could give. If then they estimated the capacity for governing from the experience of years, they ought to have Vespasian, or if from the strength of youth, they ought to have Titus; for so they would have the advantage of the different ages of both. And they would not only supply strength to those whom they should make emperors, as they had already three legions, besides other auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings, and would have further all the armies in the East to support them, as also all those in Europe

which were out of the reach and dread of Vitellius, and also such allies as they had in Italy itself, as Vespasian's brother[1] and other son,[2] the latter of whom would win over a great many of the young men that were of rank, while the other was entrusted with the charge of the city, which office of his would be no small help towards Vespasian's obtaining the empire. In short, if they themselves made any further delays, the senate might choose an emperor, whom the soldiers, who were the saviours of the empire, would hold in contempt.

§ 4. Such was the language the soldiers held in their various knots, after which they mustered together *en masse*, and encouraging one another declared Vespasian emperor, and exhorted him to save the empire which was in danger. Now Vespasian had been concerned for a considerable time about the state of public affairs, but he did not himself intend to set up for emperor, though his actions made him think himself worthy of it, for he preferred the safety of a private life to the dangers of an illustrious position. But on his refusing the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance of it, and the soldiers flocked about him with their drawn swords in their hands, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live as became his merits. And when he had shown his reluctance a great while, and had endeavoured to thrust away empire from him, at last, not being able to persuade them, he yielded to those who hailed him emperor.

§ 5. So upon consenting to the urgent requests of Mucianus and the other commanders that he would be emperor, and to those of the rest of the army who cried out that they were willing to be led against all his rivals, his first idea was to become master of Alexandria, knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence to the empire, because of its supplying corn (so that if he could get master of Egypt, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius, if he tried to keep the empire by force, for the population of Rome would not stand hunger), and also because he was desirous

[1] This brother of Vespasian was Flavius Sabinus, as Suetonius informs us, Vitell. § 15, and Vespas. § 2. He is also named by Josephus presently, chap. xi. § 4.—W.

[2] Domitian.

to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to his present army. He also considered that he should then have that country for a defence against the uncertainty of fortune. For Egypt is hard to enter by land, and has no havens by sea. It is protected on the west by the dry deserts of Libya, and on the south by Syene,[1] which divides it from Ethiopia, and by the cataracts of the Nile that cannot be sailed over, and on the east by the Red Sea that extends as far as Coptos,[2] and it is fortified on the north by the land that extends to Syria, and by what is called the Egyptian Sea, which has no havens in it for ships. Thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length between Pelusium[3] and Syene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Plinthine[4] to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred furlongs. And the Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elephantine, the forementioned cataracts hindering ships from going any further. The haven also of Alexandria is not approached by mariners without difficulty, even in time of peace; for the entrance is narrow, and full of sunken rocks, which obliges mariners to turn from the straight course. And its left is fortified by artificial moles, and on its right lies the island called Pharos, which has a very great tower, which gives light to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it, so that ships may cast anchor some distance off in the night because of the difficulty of sailing in. Round this island is built a very great artificial sea-wall, and when the sea dashes itself against it, and its waves are broken against that breakwater, navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous; but the haven itself inside is a very safe one, and is thirty furlongs in extent, and into it is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness, as also the abundance the country affords more than it wants is distributed hence all over the world.

§ 6. With reason, therefore, did Vespasian desire to get

[1] *Assûan.*

[2] *Kobt* or *Koft*, on the right bank of the Nile between *Keneh* and *Karnak.*

[3] *Tineh.*

[4] In the neighbourhood of Alexandria and Lake Mareotis.

possession of Alexandria to support his attempt upon the whole empire. So he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and Alexandria, and informed him of the devotion of the army, and how, being forced to accept the burden of empire, he was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as Alexander had read this letter, he promptly obliged the legions and the populace to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. And both of them willingly obeyed, being already acquainted with his excellence from his command in that neighbourhood. And Alexander, being now entrusted with all things relating to the empire, got all things ready for Vespasian's arrival at Alexandria. Now rumour carried the news that he was emperor over the East quicker than one would have thought, upon which every city kept festivals, and had sacrifices and thank-offerings; and the legions that were in Mysia [1] and Pannonia,[2] who had been in commotion a little before because of the audacity of Vitellius, took the oath of fidelity to Vespasian with greater joy. Vespasian then removed from Cæsarea to Berytus,[3] where many embassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces, bringing with them crowns and congratulatory decrees from every city. Mucianus came also, who was the governor of the province, and told him of the devotion of the people, and how in every city they had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

§ 7. And as Vespasian's fortune succeeded to his wishes everywhere, and affairs mostly turned out favourably to him, he considered that he had not arrived at power without divine Providence, but that a righteous fate had brought the empire to him. And as he called to mind the other signs, which had been frequent, that foretold he should obtain the empire, he remembered also what Josephus said to him, who had ventured to hail him as emperor while Nero was still alive. So he was much con-

[1] A province in the north-west of Asia Minor, on the south side of the sea of *Marmara*.

[2] On the south and west of the *Danube*. It contained the eastern portions of *Austria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, part of *Hungary*, *Slavonia*, and portions of *Croatia* and *Bosnia*.

[3] *Beirût*. Jewish War, i. 20, § 11.

cerned that this man was still in bonds with him, and called for Mucianus and his other commanders and friends, and first informed them of the valour that Josephus had shown, and what great trouble he had given him in the siege of Jotapata;[1] and then related those predictions of his, which he had at the time suspected as made up from fear, but which were now by time and facts proved to be divine. "It is a shameful thing (added he) that this man who foretold my coming to the empire, and was the minister of the voice of God to me, should still be detained in the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty; whereupon the commanders hoped for glorious things for themselves, as Vespasian made this requital to a stranger. And Titus, who was then present with his father, said, "O father, it is but just that the reproach of prisoner should be taken from Josephus by the steel. For if we do not loose his bonds, but cut them off, he will be like a man that has never been bound at all." For that is the usual method of treating such as have been bound without cause. This suggestion seemed good to Vespasian, so a man came in, and cut off the chain with his axe. So Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to the future.

CHAP. XI.

How upon the Conquest and Slaughter of Vitellius, Vespasian hastened his Journey to Rome, but Titus his Son returned to Jerusalem.

§ 1.

AND now, when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of his preferments justly and according to every one's deserts, he went to Antioch. And deliberating which way he had best take, he preferred to go to Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was secured to

[1] *Jefat.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

him already, while affairs at Rome were in disorder owing to Vitellius. So he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horse and foot to him. But Mucianus was afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter, and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.[1]

§ 2. Meantime Antonius Primus took the third legion of the troops that were in Mysia, for he was governor of that province, and hastened to fight Vitellius. Whereupon Vitellius despatched Cæcinna with a great army, having great confidence in him because of his having beaten Otho. And Cæcinna marched from Rome by forced marches, and came up with Antonius near Cremona[2] in Gaul, a city which is on the borders of Italy. But when he saw that the enemy there were numerous and in good order, he durst not fight them, and as he thought retreat dangerous, he began to think of treason. So he assembled together the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and urged them to go over to Antonius, diminishing the reputation of Vitellius, and exaggerating the strength of Vespasian. He also told them that with the one there was only the bare name of emperor, but the other had the power, and it was better for them to anticipate necessity and gain favour, and, as they were sure to be beaten in battle, to avoid danger by taking that course of action. For Vespasian was able without them to get what still remained, while Vitellius could not with them keep what he already had.

§ 3. Cæcinna said this and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him, and both he and his army deserted to Antonius. But the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done, and a fear seized on them, lest perhaps Vitellius who sent them should come off the stronger: and they drew their swords and rushed at Cæcinna intending to kill him. And the deed would have been done by them, had not the tribunes fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it. So the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds as a traitor, and intended to send him to Vitellius. When

[1] Provinces in Asia Minor. Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.
[2] In Upper Italy, on the north bank of the *Po*.

Primus heard of this, he roused his men immediately, and made them put on their armour, and led them against those that had revolted. And they drew themselves up in order of battle, and made resistance for a while, but were soon routed and fled to Cremona. Then Primus took his cavalry, and cut off their access to that city, and surrounded and cut to pieces a great number of them before the city, and rushed into the city with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here many strangers who were merchants perished, and many of the inhabitants, and Vitellius' whole army, consisting of thirty thousand and two hundred men; while Antonius lost only four thousand five hundred of those that came with him from Mysia. He then set Cæcinna free, and sent him to Vespasian to report to him what had happened. And he went and was well received by him, and covered the disgrace of his treachery by the unexpected honours he received from Vespasian.

§ 4. And now, upon the news that Antonius was at hand, Sabinus took courage at Rome, and mustered together those bands of soldiers that kept watch by night, and during the night seized upon the Capitol. And at daybreak many nobles flocked to him, and among them Domitian, his brother's son, who added greatly to their hopes of victory. Now Vitellius was not much concerned about Primus, but was very angry with those who had revolted with Sabinus, and thirsting from his own natural barbarity for noble blood, let loose upon the Capitol that part of his army which had come with him from Germany. And both those on this side, and those who occupied the temple,[1] fought with great bravery; but at last the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got possession of the hill. Domitian himself, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped, while all the rest of the multitude were cut to pieces, and Sabinus himself was brought before Vitellius and put to death, and the soldiers plundered the temple[1] of its votive offerings, and set it on fire. But the next day Antonius arrived with his army, and was met by Vitellius and his army; and after they had fought in three different places,

[1] The temple of Jupiter, on the summit of the Tarpeian rock. This and the hill were both alike called the Capitol.

the last were all cut to pieces. Then did Vitellius come out of his palace drunk, and glutted with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as availing himself of his last chance; and being dragged along by the multitude, and undergoing all sorts of ill-treatment,[1] was butchered in the middle of Rome, having reigned eight months and five days, and had he lived much longer, I think the empire would not have sufficed for his lust. Of the others who were slain, were counted more than fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apellæus, and the next day Mucianus entered the city with his army, and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing; for they were still searching the houses, and killing many of Vitellius' soldiers, and many of the populace, supposing them to be of his party, their rage preventing any accurate discrimination between friends and foes. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude as emperor, until his father should arrive in person. And the people, being now freed from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian as their emperor, and kept festival for his establishment in power and for the fall of Vitellius.

§ 5. And now, upon Vespasian's arrival at Alexandria, this good news reached him from Rome, and simultaneously came embassies from all the world, now his own, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitudes that now flocked to it. And the empire being now secured to him, and the Roman state being now unexpectedly saved from ruin, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained still undone in Judæa. However, he himself was in a hurry to set out for Rome, as the winter was now almost over, so he soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order, and despatched his son Titus with a picked force to capture Jerusalem. And Titus went by land as far as Nicopolis,[2] which is twenty furlongs from Alexandria; and there he put his army on board some

[1] As to these see Suetonius, Vitellius, 17.

[2] Nicopolis was a little west of the Delta proper, on the canal connecting Canopus with Alexandria.

men-of-war, and sailed up the Nile to the district of Mendes[1] as far as the city Thmuis;[2] and there he disembarked, and marched by land, and bivouacked at a small city called Tanis.[3] His second station was Heracleopolis,[4] and his third Pelusium.[5] He then refreshed his army at that place for two days, and on the third passed over the mouth of the Nile at Pelusium; he then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of Casian Zeus,[6] and on the next day encamped at Ostracine.[7] This station had no water, for the people of the country make use of water brought from elsewhere. After this he rested at Rhinocorura,[8] and from thence he went to Raphia,[9] which was his fourth station. This city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza,[10] after which he went to Ascalon,[11] and thence to Jamnia,[12] and after that to Joppa,[13] and from Joppa to Cæsarea,[14] having determined to concentrate all his forces there.

[1] The Nome of which Mendes was the capital, on the shore of Lake *Menzâleh*.
[2] *Tmai*, south-west of *Mansûrah*.
[3] *San*, on Lake *Menzâleh*.
[4] Near Pelusium; the ruins are now covered by Lake *Menzâleh*.
[5] *Tineh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.
[6] *el-Katieh*.
[7] A desert station between *el-Katieh* and *el-'Arish*.
[8] *el-'Arish*. Jewish War, i. 14, § 2.
[9] *Bir Refâ*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[10] *Ghuzzeh*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.
[11] *'Ascalân*. Jewish War, i. 9, § 2.
[12] *Yebnah*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.
[13] *Jaffa*.
[14] Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

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